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THE EXCESS FEMALE POPULATION OF DURHAM, N. C.
A STUDY OF MIGRATION AND URBANIZATION

by

Irvin Dunsky

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A STUDY OF MIGRATION AND ASSIMILATION

by

Irvin Dunsky

Approved, May 17, 1939
Edgar T. Thompson
Howard E. Jensen
Donald R. Adams

A thesis

submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the
degree of Master of Arts
in the Graduate School
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ACKNOWLEDGMENT

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Mrs. Ethel Carr Lipscomb, head of the North Carolina State Employment Service office in Durham, and her staff, showed me many courtesies. In particular, I wish to express my gratitude to Mrs. Lipscomb for vital assistance with respect to gathering materials which constitute a central part of the essay.

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I. D.

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THE EXCESS FEMALE POPULATION OF DURHAM, N. C.

A STUDY OF MIGRATION AND URBANIZATION

Chapter I

EXCESS FEMALE POPULATIONS

Introduction

This is a study of a city--Durham, North Carolina--made through an investigation of migration to that city from other places. More accurately, it is a study of a city carried out through an inquiry concerning female migration to that city. This particularized point of view emerged from the observation of what may be called an "excess female population," a phenomenon discussed in more detail below. Since the questions for which answers are sought in this investigation were raised through the observation of certain quantitative relations, the object of our study is regarded for the most part in mensurable aspects. But the city may be defined for sociological study in more ways than one. It seems appropriate, therefore, to consider briefly the different ways in which the city has been regarded in the past, and some of the conceptions with which it is approached for study in contemporary urban sociology.

Interest in the sociological study of the city seems to be rooted in two important circumstances of urban life. The attention of students of social life was sharply focused on the city, on one hand, because of the "social problems" of housing and health, crime and poverty, highly visible in the urban environments which came into being toward the turn of the present century. Anderson has said that the origins of urban sociology are inseparable from the perennial battle to wipe out the slum.[1] It must be remembered that the early development of sociology in the United States was intimately linked to movements of philanthropy and social reform.[2] From this early concern with the peculiar circumstances of urban life there arose the colorful literature depicting "how the other half lives," designed to impel people to action by means of the vivid portrayal of the slum-dweller's mode of life. The muckraking literature, the bulk of which came slightly later, was also characterized by the endeavor to create an awareness of the need for action with regard to political corruption and economic conditions in the cities. Somewhat similar in terms of their actual functioning, if less blatant in tone, were the social surveys which became the vogue known as the "social survey movement" under the impetus of the founding of the Russell Sage Foundation and the publication of

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[1] Nels Anderson, "Trends in Urban Sociology," in G.A. Lundberg et al., Trends in American Sociology. (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1929), pp.270, 267.

[2] F. N. House, The Development of Sociology. (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1936). See Chapter XVIII, "The Rationalization of Philanthropy and Social Reform."

the famous Pittsburgh Survey, 1909 to 1914. The social survey was also designed to secure action--community action--to alter the conditions which it pictured. Harrison has described the aim of the social survey in terms of arousing action to promote "desirable tendencies" and to thwart "undesirable ones," implementing such action by fact-finding.[3] The social survey nevertheless made a contribution of genuine value to what is now called urban sociology in the conception of the community as a unit of investigation.

Such literature and the first more methodical survey studies were practical in conception and execution. They did not aspire to the status of the theoretical or scientific, which is to say they were not carried out to test hypotheses or to establish a body of propositions to be constitutive of the theory or analysis of a science. Hence, although they make up an historical root of urban sociology, the literature of the life of "the other half" and of muckraking, and the social surveys, are not characterized by the sensitive gathering of data, the relatively detached attitude, and especially the theoretical orientation of the modern urban sociologist.[4]

The second important condition in which the sociological study of the city is rooted emerges from a theoretical rather

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[3]Shelby Harrison, The Social Survey (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1931), p.9.

[4]These brief comments on the historical antecedents of contemporary urban sociology were suggested by Dr. E. T. Thompson, in a course in that field at Duke University, Fall semester, 1936.

than a practical attitude toward the urban milieu. It is thought advantageous to study institutions and social life generally in the city because under urban conditions institutions grow quickly and cultural change seems to go on more rapidly. Park has said that institutions grow under our very eyes in the city, "and the processes by which they grow are open to observation and so, eventually, to experimentation."[5] Conceivably, therefore, the study of highly-accelerated cultural processes in the city may provide generalizations aiding in the analysis of more static ways of life or with hypotheses to be tested in all sorts of cultural milieus.

The two circumstances which have directed the attention of sociologists and others to the city are intricately connected. It has become axiomatic in sociological theory that those phenomena we seek to connote by the terms social problems or social disorganization are consequences of change, more especially change which occurs in brief temporal compass. Now when not considered in larger aspect, our social problems are finally manifested in the behavior and attitudes of persons. The conditions of disorganization attracting those of melioristic intent are connected to the empirical dynamic of rapid change which is significant for a theoretical orientation. Thus Park has said that human nature is spread out and magnified

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[5]R. E. Park, "The City as a Social Laboratory," T. V. Smith and L. D. White (eds.), Chicago--An Experiment in Social Science Research (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1929), p.19.

in the city, with the result that "in the city all the secret ambitions and all the suppressed desires find somewhere an expression."[6]

In remaking his environment through the building of cities, man seems to have inadvertently remade himself. The theoretical attitude which bids us regard the city as the scene of rapid cultural change, therefore, finds this fact bound up with the social problems and the unsanctioned, more fluid sorts of conduct which draw the attention of those with practical bent.

> The city always has been a prolific source of clinical material for the study of human nature because it has always been the source and center of social change. In a perfectly stable society where man has achieved a complete biological and social equilibrium, social problems are not likely to arise, and the anxieties, mental conflicts, and ambitions which stimulate the energies of civilized man, and incidentally make him a problem to himself and to society, are lacking.[7]

Like most things which have been subjected to scientific scrutiny, the city may be looked at in more ways than one. This is because the "very essence" of the empirical method is said to involve the recognition of the legitimacy of isolating systems for purposes of analysis. In scientific and other activities, accordingly, men "slice up" the universe by different reckonings, and it stems from this fact that the city may be conceptualized in a variety of ways. Contingent upon

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[6]Park, op. cit.

[7]Ibid., p.12.

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[6]Park, op. cit.

[7]Ibid., p. [illegible].

the purposes and the connected general research attitude regulative of an investigation, then, we may regard the city as a geographical unit, ecological area, economic entity, or as a cultural area, "characterized by its own peculiar cultural type."[8] Usually we have some composite notion of the city made up of some combination of these emphases. Wirth has suggested that the city may be defined in five ways: geographically, historically, statistically, as economic unit and sociologically.[9] Whatever the manifold possibilities of definition may be, in the inquiry reported here we are concerned with a given city primarily as an additive thing, that is, as a statistical aggregate.

The object of our investigation--the city of Durham, North Carolina--is considered primarily as an additive thing because our study originated in an analysis of the people of the community according to their various age and sex classes. This analysis of age and sex characteristics was undertaken in order to construct a population pyramid, a device for graphically representing the proportions which specific age-sex groups constitute in a given population. In making such an analysis we are thinking of the community in perhaps its most obvious aspect as a mere aggregate of individuals or as a

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[8] R.E. Park, "The City: Suggestions for the Investigation of Human Behavior in the Urban Environment," Park et al., The City. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1925), pp.1-2.

[9] Louis Wirth, "A Bibliography of the Urban Community," Ibid., pp.163, 165-169.

obvious aspect as a mere aggregate of individuals or as a

[illegible]

population group occupying a certain territory.

Before reporting concretely how this study began with the construction of a population pyramid for Durham, it will be profitable to consider the pyramid device itself as a method for comparing and analyzing age and sex distributions. The population pyramid in its present form symbolizes any population as a triangular area composed of 100 units, half of which represent the numbers of each sex in a theoretical normal population.[10] Each area unit has a length twice its width and represents one per cent of the group. The inspection of many human populations has led to fixing the upper age limit at ninety years. Among present populations the numbers of persons beyond this limit compose a fraction of one per cent which is negligible in making a diagram or for purposes of calculation. Since the most useful age grouping for many reasons is by five-year brackets, there are eighteen quinquennial segments marked off on the vertical origin from 0 to 90. Inasmuch as the vertical origin passes through the point on which the upper age limit falls it divides the isosceles triangle into two right triangles, each containing 50 per cent of the population. The right triangle to the left of the origin line symbolizes males and the one to the right represents females. With a specific right triangle whose area and one

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[10] C. S. Newcomb, A Single Numerical Index of Age and Sex Distribution of Population. M.A. thesis. University of Chicago Library, 1930. This paragraph in particular and the account in general are based on Newcomb's discussion, pp.43-45.

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[1] C. R. Newcomb, A Direct Numerical Index of the Sex Ratio, Labor ... [illegible] ... [illegible] ... [illegible]

side are known, the other side can be derived from the formula: area equals one-half the altitude times the base. Substituting known values, $\frac{1}{2}18.b=50$, hence b=5.56. The length of the base of the given right triangle is 5.56. Since this is one-half the base of the isosceles triangle representing the total population, the base of the total hypothetical distribution is 11.12, with an altitude of 18. With these values a diagram can be plotted representing the theoretical age-sex composition of a population.

The per cent which a specific quinquennial group composes of a given population is represented by a bar plotted laterally to the left (for a male group) or right (for a female group) of the vertical origin. Parenthetically, it may be pointed out here that the theoretical percentage for a specific age group is identical for the sexes.[11] The extent to which a bar runs laterally from the origin line depends of course upon the size of the age-sex group which it symbolizes relative to the whole population. The youngest age groups are drawn on the base. As the numbers in each quinquennial group are decreased by death, succeeding bars (upward from the base) are necessarily shorter. This assumes that immigration or emigration factors are not operating in a way which mars the symmetry of of the relations among the percentages. The theoretical conception of age-sex distribution as one persisting in the

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[11] The percentages for each quinquennial group in the hypothetical normal distribution appear in Appendix I, p. 134.

form approximating an isosceles triangle also assumes that birth increments and mortality decreases balance each other.

Actually, we seldom observe a human population which assumes the ideal pyramid form with great precision. Larger aggregates of population which transcend regional diversities and urban-rural contrasts approximate the theoretical figure more than smaller groups.[12] Nevertheless, the theoretical normal distribution is a "good construct" for at least three reasons. In the first place, it is a convenient and practical method for comparing all sorts of populations diagrammatically and by the calculation of differences in deviation from the percentages which given age groups comprise in the ideal distribution. Secondly, it is a method whereby the same population may be analyzed at different times so that the consequences of natural increase or decrease and of migration may be recorded. This yields a temporal perspective to shifts in population structure and permits the projection of trends into the future. The theoretical pyramid is also a good construct because when employed analytically implications frequently emerge which go beyond the empirical data and which may become hypotheses regulative of further research.

Historically, the population pyramid as a technique for the graphic representation of age-sex data came into use about

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[12]When the population of the United States is represented diagrammatically, for example, it approximates the ideal distribution closely. See the population pyramid for 1930, Chart 2, p. 22a.

1870.[13] Although a member of the staff of the United States Census of 1870 has been credited with the invention of the method, it was used about the same time in two other places. H. Schwabe used it in an inverted form (youngest age groups at the peak) in a population census of Berlin carried out in 1867, and the Italian Census of 1878 contained a group of charts and a discussion of interprovincial variations in age-sex distributions. Newcomb writes: "Thus we find at an early date this type of diagram was called 'The Population Pyramid' and that the statisticians saw the necessity of explaining the variations of its form as being due to factors of the variations of birth, death and migration rates."[14]

It was not until much data had been accumulated that the notion of a natural distribution of population arose. The practice was to consider the population of the nation as a natural distribution and to contrast smaller groups with the nation as a whole. Newcomb says that the idea of a natural population was the first step toward formulating some abstraction about age-sex structure.[15] Through comparisons of various populations it was recognized that over a period of time a

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[13] This brief survey of the use of the population pyramid is based on Newcomb's account, Chapter II, "The Development and Use of the Population Pyramid as a Device for Comparing Age and Sex Distributions." Op. cit. See also R. E. Park, "Sociology," in Research in the Social Sciences. Wilson Gee (ed.) (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1929), pp.10-15.

[14] Ibid., p.29.

[15] Ibid., p.31.

population tended to reach some sort of standard distribution.[16]

One of the first writers to develop and discuss the idea of a theoretical population distribution was Levasseur,[17] who called it a stationary population. Levasseur explicitly recognized the ideal character of his "figure théorique de la population groupée par âge,"[18] but he was also aware of its utility. This is evident in his endeavor to connect certain movements of population with types of age-sex structure. Levasseur pointed out, for examole, that better health protection might result in an expansion of the center of the pyramid apart from variations in the birth rate. If the effects of such augmented protection continued into old age, the head of the figure would be less slender. Contraction of the pyramid's center would be a consequence of the emigration of adults; this segment of the figure would swell (renfle) were

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[16] To compute true rates of natural increase or decrease, students of natural population movement use the concept of the "stable distribution," that is, "that which would result after a lapse of time under the régime of the actually prevailing fertility." A. J. Lotka, "Modern Trends in the Birth Rate," The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 188 (1936), p.4. When a population reaches a definite stable age distribution, birth and death rates assume correspondingly definite values, spoken of as the stable birth rate and the stable death rate. Ibid. This concept is designed for the analysis of natural population movements and is not to be confused with the theoretical population pyramid under discussion in the text. The latter conception has been used in this research.

[17] Émile Levasseur, La Population Française. 3 Vols. (Paris: Arthur Rousseau, 1891), See Vol. II, Chap. XV, especially pp.257-259.

[18] He wrote, "En réalité, il n'y a pas, ainsi que nous l'avons dit, de population qui ait précisément cette ordonnance, puisqu'il n'y a pas d'exemple de population qui soit restée

(Continued on page 12)

the population receiving immigrants.[19] There is also an interesting comparison of two populations, one showing the results of high birth, death and emigration rates, the other approximately stationary, plotted on a diagram containing the theoretical triangle.[20] The inductive basis of the hypothetical age-sex structure is evident here. In his construction of the ideal distribution Levasseur used the assumption that the factors in two pairs of movements--births and deaths, immigration and emigration--compensated each other in a relatively equitable manner among the different age groupings. Although Newcomb criticizes Levasseur's formulation in the course of refining the construct, we are indebted to the latter for a clear exposition of the idea and for practical contributions in the form of quinquennial age groupings and the area unit twice its width in length. A discussion of Newcomb's criticisms is not germane to our inquiry.[21]

(Continued from page 11)
stationaire depuis la naissance jusqu'à l'extinction totale d'une generation, . . ." Ibid., p.258.

[19] Ibid., pp.258-259.

[20] Ibid., Figure 107; p.260.

[21] For Newcomb's critical comments, see p.35, op. cit.

Age-Sex Structures in Durham and Other North Carolina Cities: Indexes of Migration

Analyses of the age-sex structures of Durham's white[22] and Negro populations as of 1930 reveal a suggestive though not unusual pattern of deviation from the theoretical pyramid. These Durham distributions are plotted on Chart II, p. where they may be compared with North Carolina's age-sex structure (1930) and with figures representing other populations. Each Durham racial group exhibits a marked "excess"[23] of young adults, especially in the two quinquennial brackets making up the 20-29 year segment, and in each group the deviations are larger for females. There are slight negative deviations for the population fourteen years and under. All age groups above the 35-39 bracket show deficits relative to the hypothetical age-sex structure, the older Negro female population having the largest negative deviation as a group. We have as a whole age-sex pattern, then, relatively few children, a marked concentration of young adults, especially females, and a comparative underrepresentation of older persons. The unequal proportions of the sexes is evident in the sex ratios for both racial groups in 1930. These were 92.0 and 85.3 for white

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[22] The term "white population" will be used throughout to refer to the native white population. Since the foreign-born white population of North Carolina constitutes such a small percentage (less than one-half of one per cent) of the total population, it is not included in calculations analytic of smaller political entities or residential classes.

[23] The term "excess" is employed throughout to denote deviations above theoretical percentages by specific age groups. Similarly, the terms "surplus" and "deficit" are used

(Continued on page 14)

and Negro populations respectively.

This type of age-sex composition was said to be not unusual because it is an established fact that, with the exception of certain sorts of localities, urban populations tend to contain fewer children and older people but greater proportions of adults in the economically productive years of life. It is also pretty well established that--again with certain sorts of cities excepted--women tend to migrate in greater numbers than men to urban centers. A clear notion of the form of the Durham age-sex patterns may be obtained by contrasting these with the structure of the entire state. Since North Carolina's population is roughly seventy-five per cent rural (1930), a comparison of its deviations from the theoretical norm with those of a city make evident urban age-sex concentrations and deficits. The following table presents such comparisons by four large age groups.

This table clearly brings out the small proportions in the city's populations under fifteen years of age relative to the theoretical pyramid. The percentages for three of these four groups deviated negatively from the norm for the bracket. The observed proportion in this segment for the entire city was below the norm. The concentration of young adults is apparent not merely from the large positive deviations of the 15-29 segment, but also in the sharp decrease in size of deviation in the 30-44 year bracket. Intersexual comparisons are instructive.

(Continued from page 13)
synonymously with positive and negative deviation respectively. All three terms, unless otherwise specified, refer to the ideal pyramid percentages. They nowhere connote any quantitative evaluation relative to man-job or population-resources ratios.

Table 1[24]

Deviations From Theoretical Pyramid, by Four Age Groups, For North Carolina and Durham, N. C., By Race, 1930

Age Groups	North Carolina Total Population MD[a]	FD[b]	Durham White Population MD	FD	Durham Negro Population MD	FD
0 to 14 years	+3.89	+3.56	-0.08	+0.08	-1.13	-0.63
15 to 29 years	+1.25	+2.30	+2.05	+4.65	+2.91	+9.06
30 to 44 years	-1.45	-1.05	+0.82	+0.97	+0.74	+1.48
45--	-3.69	-4.81	-2.79	-5.70	-2.52	-9.91

[a]MD stands for male deviations.

[b]FD stands for female deviations.

For Durham's white population in the 15-29 grouping the female deviation was twice as large as the male (+4.65 and +2.05); in the same age group Negro females deviated above the theoretical percentage more than three times as much as Negro males (+0.06 and +2.91). The deviation for Negro women in this bracket was not quite twice that of the white women (+9.06 and +4.65). Although Durham's negative female deviations in the population 45 years and over were appreciably larger than the state deviation--that of the Negro group was more than two times as great as the state deficit (-9.91 and -4.81)--underrepresentation of older males does not

[24]This mode of division and these calculations are the writer's. When a table is taken intact, or in abridged form, from another source, this will be made explicit. Tables constitutive of per cent population increases, sex ratios, per cent of women in occupational groups and per cent of employed women of certain ages are based on data from the Census. These materials were drawn from: United States Census, Population, III,

(Continued on page 16)

[illegible]

seem so apparent from this table. Males 45 and over in the state population deviated (-3.69) more than Durham white (-2.79) and Negro (-2.52) men in this category.

Other North Carolina cities have age-sex structures analogous to that of Durham. Seven other cities were selected for comparative analysis. These were: Asheville, Charlotte, Greensboro, High Point, Raleigh, Wilmington, and Winston-Salem. Some merits in this selection seem obvious. The group includes the eight largest cities in the state. We have a coastal plain city and a mountain city to compare with six Piedmont centers, viewing the array geographically. With a resort city, a state capital, several manufacturing areas, and a port, there is presumably enough economic diversity to attain a fair state-wide view of the relations of populational distribution to occupational structure, assuming such relations exist. Age-sex data for these seven cities are analyzed by racial groups in four age segments in the table which follows. The method of deviations is again employed.

The relations organized in Table 2 bring out the general similarity of the sex-age structures of these cities with Durham's populations. The exception of Wilmington may be noted here. The deviations from the age groups by which Table 2 was set up are represented diagrammatically on Chart 1, p.

(continued from page 15)
Part 2. Government Printing Office, 1932, pp.332-402; Population IV, "Occupations by States." Government Printing Office, 1933, pp. 1201-1918; Population, V,"General Report on Occupations." Government Printing Office, 1933, p.61. All other tables are based on data gathered and organized by the writer.

Table 2

Deviations From Theoretical Pyramid, by Four Age Groups, For Seven North Carolina Cities, By Race, 1930

Age Groups	Asheville White Pop.		Asheville Negro Pop.		High Point White Pop.		High Point Negro Pop.	
	MD	FD	MD	FD	MD	FD	MD	FD
0-14	-1.25	-0.81	-1.82	-1.02	+0.87	+0.92	-1.28	-0.38
15-29	+0.11	+3.91	+1.68	+8.58	+4.07	+5.98	+5.43	+9.13
30-44	+1.56	+2.73	+1.20	+3.48	-0.01	-0.12	+1.65	+0.66
45 +	-0.42	-5.83	-1.06	-11.04	-4.93	-6.78	-5.80	-9.41

Age Groups	Charlotte White Pop.		Charlotte Negro Pop.		Raleigh White Pop.		Raleigh Negro Pop.	
	MD	FD	MD	FD	MD	FD	MD	FD
0-14	-0.48	-0.98	-2.05	-1.02	-2.27	-0.51	-1.40	-0.80
15-29	+1.84	+4.88	+2.84	+8.88	+0.90	+3.39	+2.46	+6.94
30-44	+2.30	+2.02	+0.54	+1.81	+2.65	+2.71	+0.34	+1.50
45 +	-3.66	-5.92	-1.33	-9.67	-1.28	-5.59	-1.40	-7.64

Age Groups	Greensboro White Pop.		Greensboro Negro Pop.		Wilmington White Pop.		Wilmington Negro Pop.	
	MD	FD	MD	FD	MD	FD	MD	FD
0-14	+0.74	+0.22	-1.72	-0.78	-0.46	-0.77	-0.49	+0.39
15-29	+1.38	+4.22	+3.02	+8.50	+0.55	+3.12	-0.05	+4.82
30-44	+0.97	+1.57	+0.43	+1.64	+0.47	+1.70	+0.06	+3.25
45 +	-3.09	-6.01	-1.73	-9.36	-0.56	-4.05	+0.58	-8.46

Age Groups	Winston-Salem White Pop.		Winston-Salem Negro Pop.	
	MD	FD	MD	FD
0-14	+0.75	+0.24	-1.66	-1.08
15-29	+1.75	+5.18	+3.66	+9.09
30-44	+1.22	+1.16	+1.33	+2.03
45 +	-3.52	-6.58	-3.33	-10.04

This chart may be consulted for a quick grasp of the deviation patterns which are discussed below. It also brings out clearly the exceptional Wilmington situation and displays the rough similarity of deviation patterning obtaining among the other urban centers.

Certain features of the data as analyzed in the preceding table seem worthy of specific comment.[25] The typical urban condition of relatively small numbers of young people is clearly realized in the character of the deviations for the population in the age category 14 years and under. Fifteen of the 16 Negro groups in this age range had negative deviations, the single exception being the Wilmington female group (+0.39).[26] Among identical white groups nine showed negative deviations and seven deviated above the theoretical percentage. Durham's female excess in this bracket (+0.08) was counterbalanced by a precisely equivalent negative male deviation, however, and female deviations above the norm for Greensboro (+0.22) and Winston-Salem (+0.24) were small. Only High Point had positive deviations for the sexes which were relatively similar (males +0.87, females +0.92). The figures for High Point were the highest deviations observed above the hypothetical norm for the bracket.

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[25] Durham's age-sex structures are included in this discussion as if their components were also part of Table 2.

[26] Using extent of negative deviation as a criterion, the male Negro figures were in every case larger than those for the corresponding female group.

Comparing sexes interracially for the bracket from the point of view of relative paucity of numbers, we find that in seven cities Negro male negative deviations were greater than white male negative deviations where these were observed. Raleigh was the sole exception (white males -2.27, Negro males -1.40). Similarly, in seven of eight cities Negro female deficits were represented by negative deviations larger than corresponding white female negative deviations where these were evident. Wilmington deviations reverse the pattern (white females -0.77, Negro females +0.39) rather substantially. Although the pattern of deviations seems clear-cut when we consider gross "more than-ness" by cities, the differences among deviations vary considerably in magnitude from city to city.

On the whole, the largest excesses for both sexes in each racial group occurred in the 15-29 year range. Of 32 groupings in this bracket a negative deviation was observed in only one case, Wilmington's Negro male population having a small deficit (-0.05). The corresponding female group in this city had a surplus of +4.82. Each of the eight white female deviations for the 15-29 bracket exceeded female deviations in the 30-44 year grouping. All Negro female deviations in the 15-29 range were greater than those for the next older age group. Five white male populations exhibited larger deviations in the younger of these two age segments; in three instances greater positive deviations were observed for the 30-44 range. Placing deviations for the 15-29 bracket first, these were:

Raleigh +0.90, +2.65; Charlotte +1.84, +2.30; Asheville +0.11, +1.56. In every city except Wilmington Negro males in the 15-29 segment deviated further above the theoretical percentage than colored males in the older bracket. The Wilmington situation was expressed by these deviations: 15-29 years,-0.05; 30-44 years, +0.06. All told, therefore, in 28 of 32 groupings greater positive deviations were observed for the 15-29 year range. All four exceptions relative to deviations of 30-44 year brackets occurred in male populations.

Attending briefly now to intersexual differences for the 15-29 year segment within races, we find that Negro females in every city had larger positive deviations than did males. Similarly, in each city white women in this age group showed greater surpluses than men. We may also note, parenthetically, that all positive deviations for Negro females in this category were greater than equivalent white female positive deviations. In three cases the Negro female deviations were more than twice as great as white female deviations (Asheville +8.58, +3.91; Greensboro +8.50, +4.22; Raleigh +6.94, +3.39).

Of all deviations in 30-44 year groups, 30 had a positive character and but two were negative--High Point's white male and female deficits (-0.01, -0.12). The contrast with the state's age-sex structure is striking in this connection, for the state male and female deficits in this bracket were symbolized by deviations of -1.45 and -1.05, in that order. In six cities white female groups in the 30-44 year range had

larger positive deviations than male groups. Charlotte's deviations for the category reverse this (males +2.30, females +2.02). The unusual High Point situation has been noted already, the white population in this case characterized by a slightly larger negative female deficit (females -0.12, males -0.01). In seven cities Negro female deviations exceeded male deviations for the bracket. High Point again provided an exception, its Negro deviations were +1.65 and +0.66 for males and females respectively.

Comparing sexes interracially, we find that in six cities Negro females had greater surpluses than white females in the 30-44 year age group. The reverse situation was relatively emphatic in Raleigh (Negro women +1.50, white women +2.71) and was not quite so marked in Charlotte's feminine populations (+1.81 and +2.02 for the Negro and white groups respectively.) For the male portions of the populations in this age segment a precisely opposite condition was observed. White male deviations in this range were larger than Negro male deviations in six cities although the sizes of these differences varied considerably.

For all population segments bluntly lumped in the category 45 years and over, there were 31 negative deviations observed, and these were representative of the largest deficits from a theoretical norm which emerged from our age-sex analyses. In but a single case did one of these age groups exhibit an

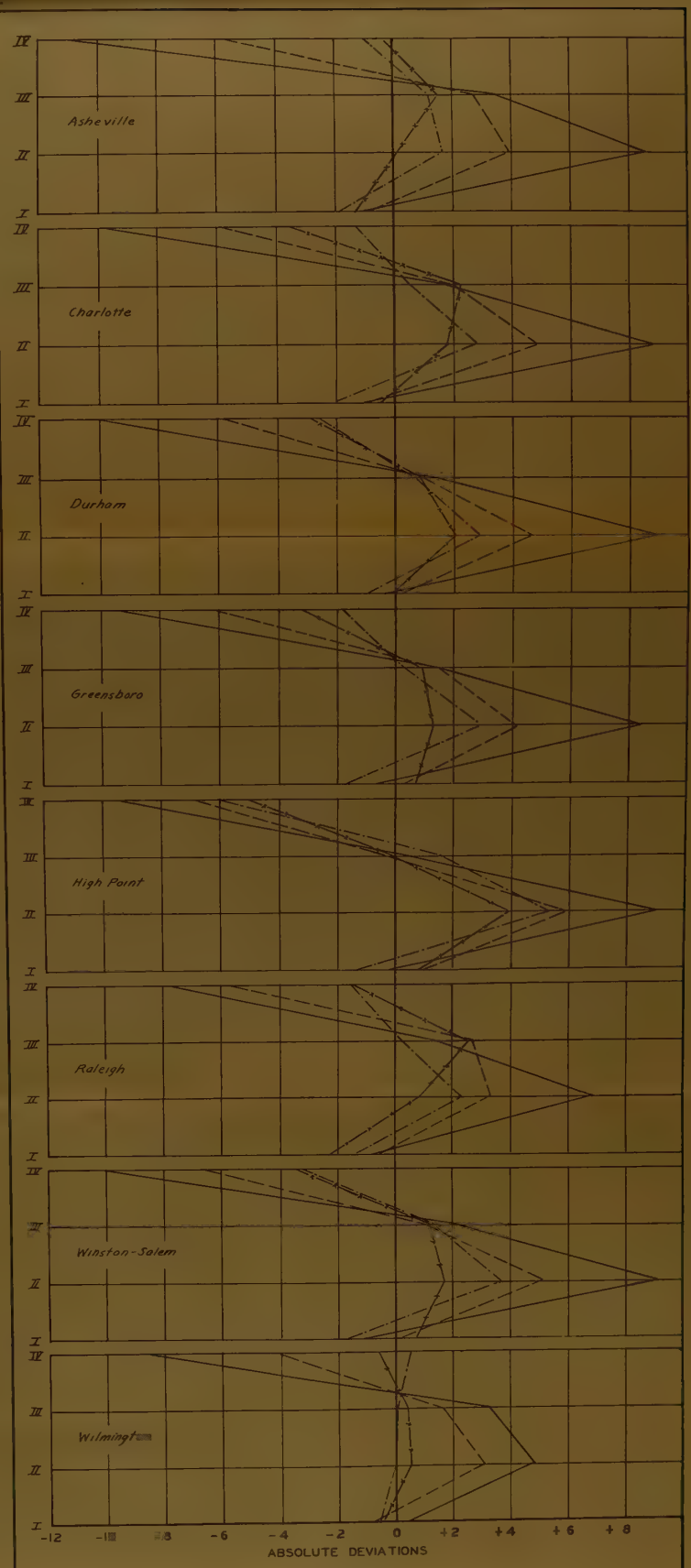

CHART I

DEVIATIONS FROM THEORETICAL PYRAMID, BY FOUR AGE GROUPS, FOR EIGHT NORTH CAROLINA CITIES, 1930

LEGEND

I 0-14 YEARS	WHITE MALES
II 15-29 "	WHITE FEMALES
III 30-44 "	NEGRO MALES
IV 45 & OVER	NEGRO FEMALES

excess, Wilmington's Negro male segment having a slight positive deviation (+0.58). All eight Negro female deviations for the bracket were larger negative deviations than corresponding male deviations. In five cities female deficits were represented by deviations five times as great as male deviations.[27] This pattern was similar to that observed among the white populations. In each city white female negative deviations were greater than male negative deviations for the range. The white differentials were substantial but they were smaller than colored intersexual differences. Comparing the relative size of Negro and white female deficits for the bracket, we find that in every city the Negro deviation was greater than the white one. The interracial relation of these negative deviations approximated the order 2 to 1 in four instances.[28] Differences were smaller in other cities.

The interrelations of deviations which have been under discussion here are represented graphically on Chart 1. With the exception of Wilmington, there is apparent in these diagrams a rough pattern toward which the deviations of the other cities tend. A study of the population pyramids of white and Negro populations on Chart 2 (Durham), and Charts 3 and 4

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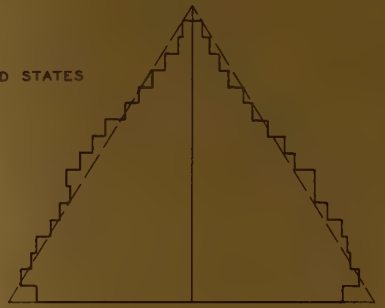
[27] Asheville -11.04, -1.06; Charlotte -9.67, -1.33; Greensboro -9.36, -1.73; Raleigh -7.64, -1.40; Wilmington -8.46, +0.58.

[28] Placing Negro female deviations first, these cities were: Asheville -11.04, -5.83; Charlotte -9.67, -5.92; Durham -9.91, -5.70; Wilmington -8.46, -4.05.

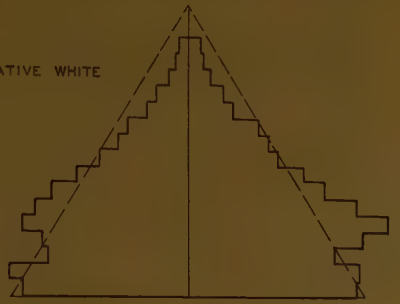
CHART 2

AGE-SEX COMPOSITION OF SELECTED POPULATIONS, 1930

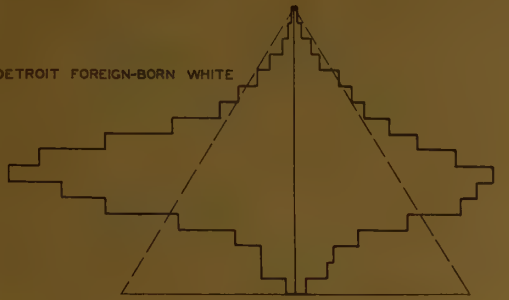
UNITED STATES



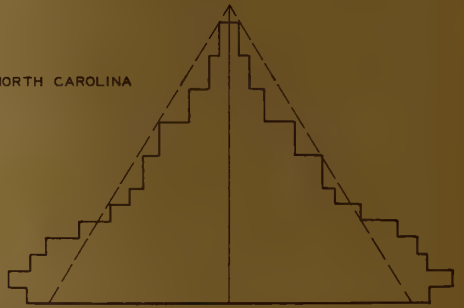
DURHAM NATIVE WHITE



DETROIT FOREIGN-BORN WHITE



NORTH CAROLINA



DURHAM NEGRO

DETROIT NEGRO

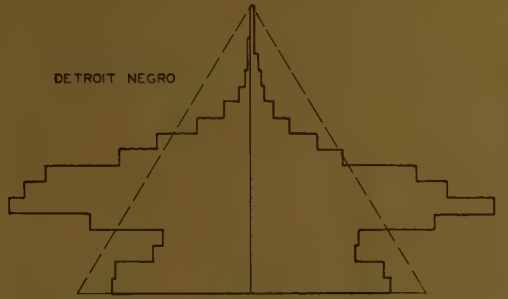
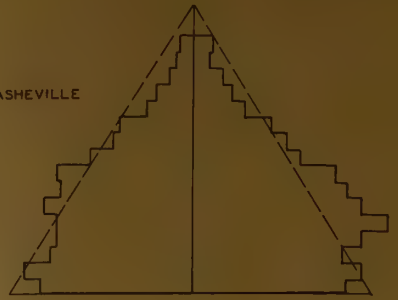


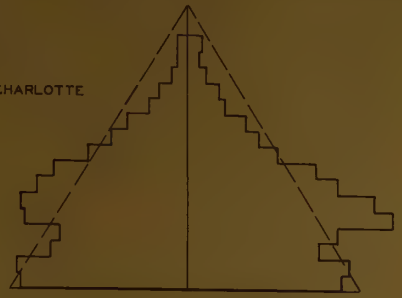
CHART 3

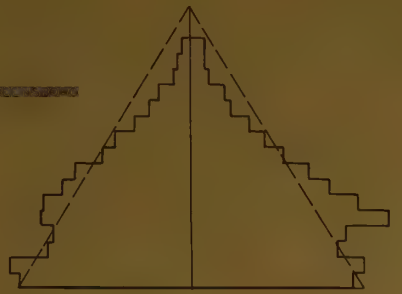
AGE-SEX COMPOSITION OF NATIVE WHITE POPULATION, SIX NORTH CAROLINA CITIES, 1930

ASHEVILLE

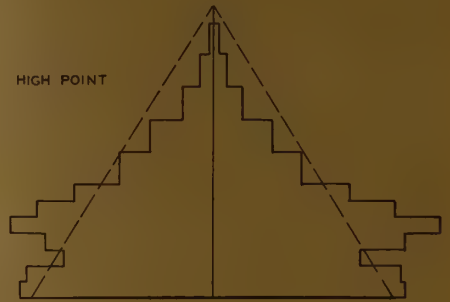


CHARLOTTE

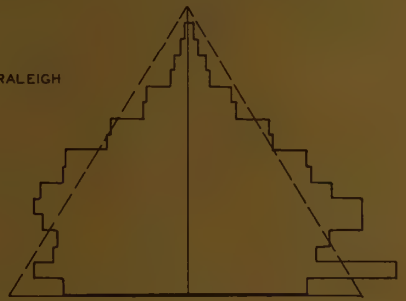




HIGH POINT



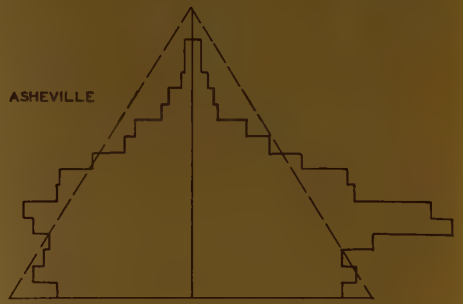
RALEIGH

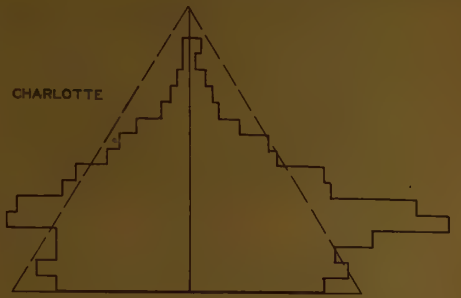


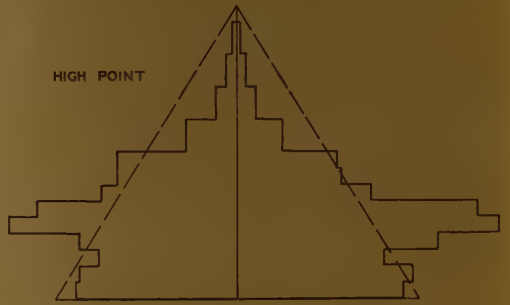
WINSTON-SALEM

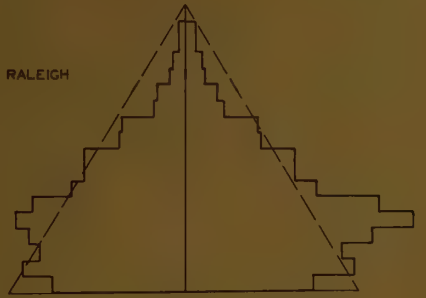
CHART 4

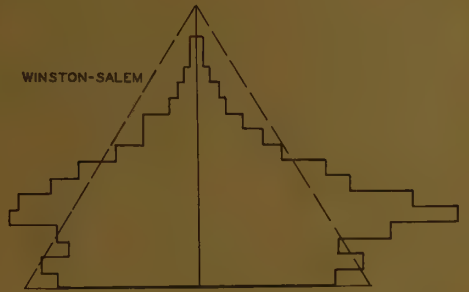
AGE-SEX COMPOSITION OF NEGRO POPULATION, SIX NORTH CAROLINA CITIES, 1930











reveals this similarity of age-sex characteristics among these cities in another perspective.[29]

An outstanding feature of these age-sex structures was the presence of the substantial female surpluses in young adult age brackets for both races. It was the observation of these female excesses in Durham's populations which led to an analysis of other urban populations in the state in order to ascertain to what extent a similar pattern prevailed. As stated previously, in the group of seven cities analyzed for this purpose, Wilmington alone did not approximate the age-sex pattern observed first for Durham and then for six other cities.

These female positive deviations seemed to indicate rather widespread migration within the state to urban areas. The percentage increases in total population for these cities--excepting Wilmington--in the period 1920-1930 were too large to be accounted for merely by natural increase.

Table 3.

Percentage Increase of Total Population, Eight North Carolina Cities, 1920 to 1930.

City	Percent	City	Percent
Asheville	76.1	High Point	156.9
Charlotte	78.4	Raleigh	53.1
Durham	139.6	Wilmington	-3.3
Greensboro	169.7	Winston-Salem	55.5

[29]Population pyramids for Wilmington were not included in Charts 3 and 4 partly in the interest of space economy but

(Continued on page 24

More precise confirmation of the inference was available. Although the percentage increase of North Carolina's urban population for the census decade ending in 1930 was 65.2, Hamilton's calculations of true rates of natural increase[30] show a natural movement of -8.67; that is, a true decrease characterized the natural movement of urban population in the period from 1920 to 1930. The true rate of natural movement was -3.53 for the white urban population and -20.44 for the colored urban population. This indicates, as Hamilton points out, "that the city population would ultimately die out unless replenished by migration from the towns and farms."[31]

These facts have a striking consequence with respect to the large excesses in the young adult age groups noted in our percentage analyses and graphic representations. For example, between 1920 and 1930 the urban and rural non-farm population in the 20-29 age group of the state would have decreased if no migration had taken place. The 50 per cent increase in this urban age segment was entirely the result of migration. Without any migration, this age group would have lost more than a thousand persons by natural decrease in the 10-19 year age group

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(Continued from page 23)
also because of the city's relative atypicality. It may be noted that Wilmington was the only city among the eight analyzed which suffered a population decrease between 1920 and 1930 (-3.3 per cent). This is in marked contrast to percentage increases for the other cities. See Table 3, p.23 above.

[30]Hamilton, "Rural-Urban Migration in North Carolina, 1920 to 1930," Bulletin 295, North Carolina Agricultural Experiment Station (Raleigh, 1934), pp.23-29. See the Table, p.28.

[31]Ibid., p.28.

of 1920.[32] Special calculations for the urban 20-24 year bracket alone indicate,

> a natural decrease of about 17 per cent which was more than offset by a migration increase of 77 per cent, making an actual increase of about 60 per cent for the city 20-24 age group. In the case of colored urban females, 20 to 25 years of age, the natural decrease reached 33 per cent and the migration increase 94 per cent, resulting in an actual increase of 61 per cent.[33]

The age distribution of urban populations as presented by our pyramids show that there will be large deficits in this young adult age group in 1940 unless migration to cities has continued in the present decade. The rate of increase of the urban population will undoubtedly have diminished if migration from rural areas has not persisted at a high rate.[34]

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[32] Hamilton, op. cit., p.44 and Table 9, p.35.

[33] Ibid., p.44.

[34] Hamilton predicted rural-urban migration would continue (1930-1940), but not to the same extent as in 1920-1930. Age structures and differential fertility rates would conduce to continued cityward movement. The urban 10-19 year group (1930) was too small to maintain population in the 20-29 bracket in 1940. Farm population in the 10-19 year segment was too large for agricultural demands. See pp.69-71, ibid. The volume of migration actually declined between 1931 and 1935. Net migration for the period was 103,000. If this holds approximately for 1936-1940, a decrease of about 40,000 in net migration is indicated for this decade. See C. H. Hamilton, "Recent Changes in the Social and Economic Status of Farm Families in North Carolina," Bulletin 309, North Carolina Agricultural Experiment Station. Raleigh: 1937, pp.33-35. Unless otherwise specified, references to Hamilton below are to his first-cited monograph.

[illegible], op. cit., [illegible].

[illegible], p. [illegible].

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [

It is therefore evident that many urban age groups are composed of a majority of migrants. In the census decade ending 1930, in which seven of the eight cities whose age-sex characteristics we have examined registered large per cent increases in population, North Carolina's urban and rural nonfarm populations increased approximately 245,000 by migration. This was almost precisely equivalent to the number lost by the rural farm population.[35] The following table, which

Table 4[36]

Increase in Urban and Rural Nonfarm Population Due to Natural Increase and Net Migration, North Carolina, 1920 to 1930, By Race and Sex.

Race and Sex Group	Total Change 1920 to 1930	Natural Increase No.	Natural Increase Per cent of 1920	Net Migration No.	Net Migration Per cent of 1920
Total	500,462	255,567	23.9	244,895	22.9
White Pop.	378,710	201,514	26.3	177,196	23.1
White Males	181,874	103,557	27.3	78,317	20.7
White Females	196,836	97,957	25.3	98,879	25.5
Negro Pop.	121,752	54,053	17.9	67,699	22.5
Negro Males	54,849	29,276	20.3	25,573	17.8
Negro Females	66,903	24,777	15.7	42,126	26.8

shows population increase attributable to natural increase and net migration for the urban and rural nonfarm classes, makes

[35]Exact figures were: -244,318, rural farm loss, +244,895, urban and nonfarm gain. These figures represent net gain and loss. Total mobility was probably much greater. Ibid., Table 8. p.34.

[36]Abridged from Table 8, p.34, ibid. The increments of natural increase and net migration shown in this table are conservative because rural nonfarm and urban increases are lumped together. Hamilton's data show the situation to be more extreme with respect to strictly urban populations. That is, a much larger proportion of total increase in cities is attributable to migration.

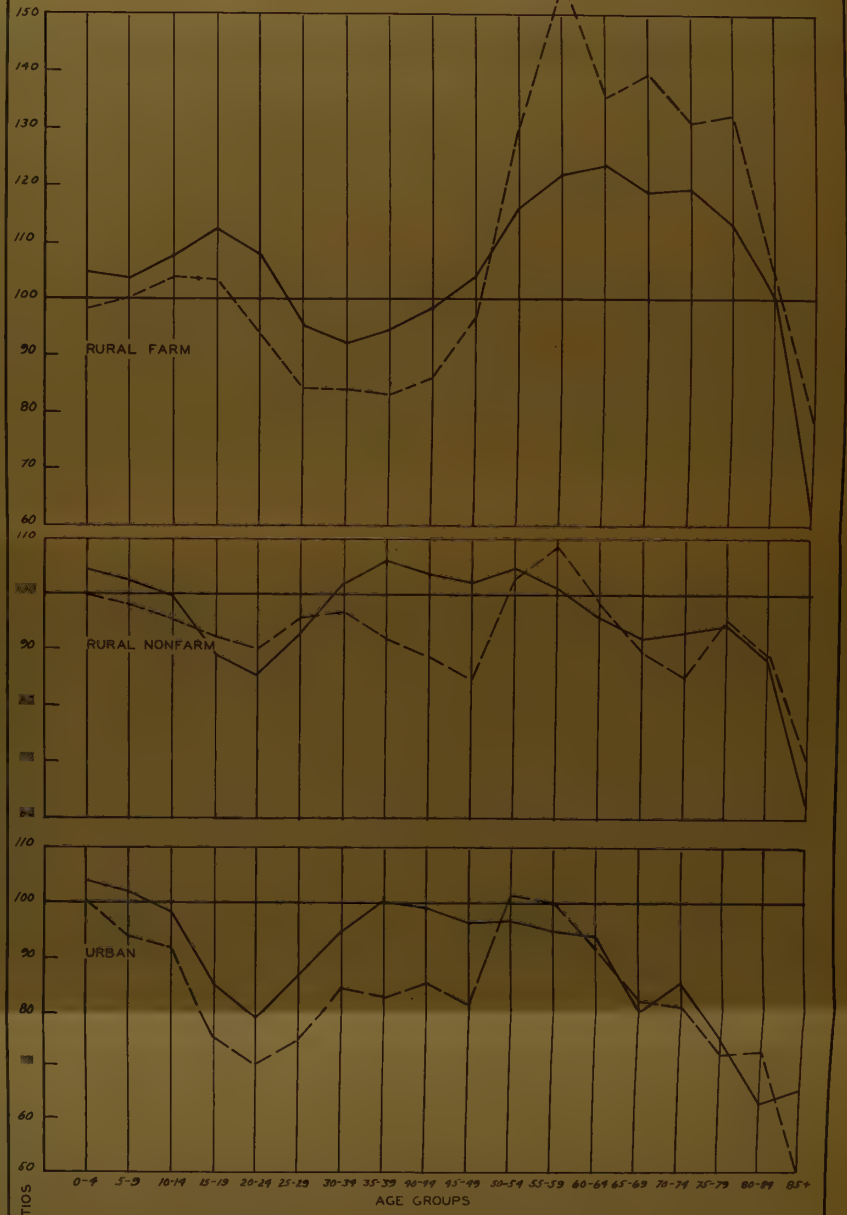

CHART 5

SEX RATIOS BY FIVE-YEAR AGE GROUPS, AND RACE AND RESIDENTIAL CLASSES, NORTH CAROLINA, 1930

LEGEND

—— WHITE

– – NEGRO

it evident that relatively greater numbers of females migrated cityward. The white female population gained 25.5 per cent of its 1920 population through migration while the male figure was 20.7 per cent. The colored female migration increase was 26.8 per cent of that group's 1920 population and the corresponding male percentage was 17.8. Negro women seem to have been attracted to cities relatively more than white women, but more white males than Negro--as measured by these percentages--have migrated to cities. Hamilton's findings fit in with the age-sex structures of North Carolina cities as presented in our pyramids and with the pattern of deviations which emerged from comparison with the ideal pyramid. The inevitable conclusion was, therefore, that the observed female surplus populations were predominantly the results of rural-urban migration.

Inasmuch as this migration was selective of age and sex, and to some extent of race, as the evidence presented above has indicated, residential classes in the population of the state exhibited different age-sex distributions (1930). These variant but complementary distributions of races and residential classes are brought out by Chart 5 on which sex ratios for quinquennial groups are plotted against an horizontal origin of 100, representing a balance of the sexes. Intraracial and interracial comparisons for residential classes are readily available. The curves representative of rural farm sex ratios indicate that in the total stream of migration to and from cities the

population returning to farms is mainly composed of older persons.

Although our attention has been centered on the 1920-1930 period, it may be noted that the sexual imbalances characteristic of racial and residential groupings have been evident for some time. White and Negro urban sex ratios of roughly similar magnitude were reported in each of the last three census years. This was also true of rural sex ratios for the state. Consequently, rural-urban differentials in this respect have been relatively constant, even though the total volume of movement to and from the cities apparently reached a peak in the last census decade, and despite the fact that the net migration deficit of 345,000 for the rural population was the largest recorded. The sex ratios appear in the following table.

Table 5

North Carolina Sex Ratios, Total Population and Residential Classes, By Race, 1910 to 1930

Population	1930	1920	1910
N. C. Total	98.8	99.9	99.2
Urban	90.6	94.5	91.1
White Urban	93.5	96.9	95.6
Negro Urban	84.1	89.2	83.6
Rural	101.7	101.3	100.6
White Rural	103.0	102.7	102.1
Negro Rural	98.7	97.8	97.2

Sex ratios for the same period for the eight North Carolina cities we have attended to show that numerical imbalances of the sexes have existed in both races for some time. There is slight evidence in these figures of a trend toward the norm from 1910 to 1920 and of a trend away from it in the succeeding decade, but this is far from conclusive. Sex ratios tell us nothing of age differentials, but it seems probable that for some time North Carolina cities have been attracting relatively more females than males in whatever migration has occurred, especially in the Negro stream of migration. A detailed treatment of migration to cities in past decades is not pertinent, however, to our main purpose, to a discussion of which we here turn.

The Purpose of the Inquiry and Its Limitations

The conclusion labeled as inevitable above--namely, that the observed female surplus populations were primarily the results of rural-urban migration--is a "good one" because it immediately confronts us again with the interesting questions which emerged in first instance from the analysis and diagrammatic symbolization of Durham's age-sex compositions. For one thing, the question arises, From precisely where do migrant women moving to a particular city come? How far do they move? Is the stream of cityward migration almost entirely local,

Table 6.

Sex Ratios for Eight North Carolina Cities by Race, 1910-1930.

City	Race	1930	1920	1910
Asheville	White	87.1	91.3	92.6
	Negro	81.0	78.2	78.9
Charlotte	White	94.7	95.9	98.0
	Negro	83.3	87.0	79.4
Durham	White	92.0	88.6	91.8
	Negro	85.3	90.5	82.5
Greensboro	White	93.0	91.8	91.3
	Negro	85.4	89.3	81.6
High Point	White	96.1	99.2	102.1
	Negro	93.5	90.4	101.1
Raleigh	White	93.5	99.6	94.4
	Negro	86.1	95.8	79.9
Wilmington	White	90.8	97.5	97.0
	Negro	80.7	86.4	82.7
Winston-Salem	White	93.0	101.5	98.5
	Negro	87.2	97.4	94.3

as we might expect from data considered previously, or is it partially nonlocal, or interstate, and if so, to what extent? What is the pattern of migration? That is to say, do migrant women come directly to a given city from farms or small towns, or do they tend to make intermediate stops of a relatively temporary character? We know that the process of migration is highly selective of age, but at precisely what time of life do these women move to cities? What is their marital status at

the time of migration? What sort of formal educational experience have they had prior to cityward migration? Are there marked differences connected with the answers to these questions between the movement of white and Negro women from farm and village to larger city? Is occupation linked in a decisive way to states of affairs whose descriptions would provide some answers to these interrogations? These are some of the move obvious questions evoked by our conclusion. But other questions--perhaps more subtle questions--also seem importunate for consideration. According to women who have moved to the city, what are the reasons for migration? What personal factors do migrant women themselves denote as causal to the process? What sorts of personality changes seem to result from rural-urban migration? How do these migrant women adjust to the urban cultural world?

It is the purpose of this investigation to attempt to answer these two sets of questions. This endeavor will be highly limited because attention is confined to one city. Conclusions must therefore be tentative, especially those resulting from the effort to answer the more subtle set of questions. To the extent that Durham's population patterning is similar to that of other cities, however, conclusions regarding the more objective questions may be applicable to these other urban centers. Differences in location, economic base, or age-sex structure, or some combination of these, however, compel us to

be cautious about extending the applicative sphere of generalizations derived from Durham data alone to Wilmington, Raleigh, or Asheville.

The plan of presentation is simple and its form is regulated by the dual character of our purpose. In the succeeding chapter the more objective characteristics of migration and of a group of migrant woman are described in an analysis of a body of data pertaining to Durham as migration terminus. This chapter records the answers we have found--however fragmentary and tentative--to the first set of questions. The endeavor to formulate something significant regarding the second group of questions is reported in the third chapter. The sources of the data analyzed and the methods employed in gathering them are discussed in the course of reporting our findings. The fourth chapter recapitulates results of the analyses and attempts to knit these into a brief resume.

It seems profitable to dwell briefly on two things prior to taking up the objective aspects of migration. In the first place, it seems in order to analyze in a little more detail the young female surplus populations we are concerned with, particularly those of Durham. Secondly, an explicit formulation of a frame of reference is desirable. These two topics compose the final section of the present chapter.

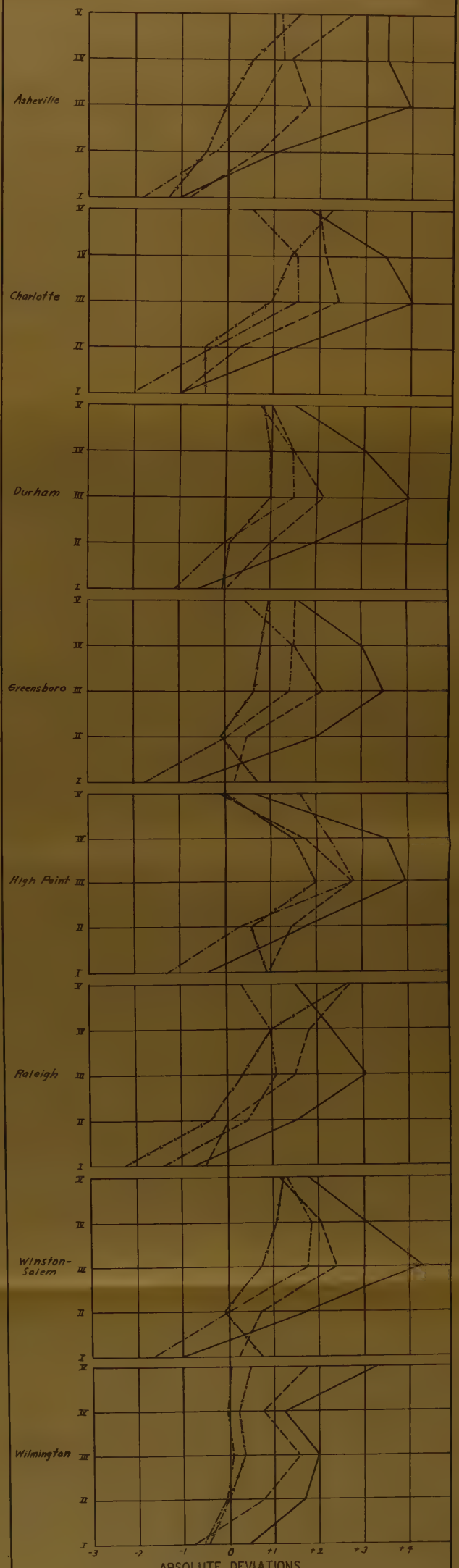

CHART 6

DEVIATIONS FROM THEORETICAL PYRAMID, BY FIVE AGE GROUPS, FOR EIGHT NORTH CAROLINA CITIES, 1930

LEGEND

I	0–14 YEARS	—x—x—	WHITE MALES
II	15–19 "	– – – –	WHITE FEMALES
III	20–24 "	—·—·—	NEGRO MALES
IV	25–29 "	———	NEGRO FEMALES
V	30–44 "		

Young Excess Female Populations. The Frame of Reference: Mobile-Equilibrium

The first analysis of age-sex structures of North Carolina cities was made by fifteen-year age groups. We observed the largest positive deviations generally in the 15-29 segment, and this was especially emphatic for female populations. A further age breakdown of this group into quinquennial units was undertaken. The results of this analysis are presented in Table 7, with deviations for the 0-14 and 30-44 groupings included. Chart 6 is a diagrammatic presentation of the interrelation of deviations.

A relatively definite patterning of female deviations for the three quinquennial groupings was evident. In each of these 16 urban female groups deviations for the 20-24 year segment were greater than those for the 15-19 and 25-29 groups. In 14 of 16 cases deviations in the 25-29 segment exceeded those for the 15-19 group. Wilmington's white and Negro women were the exceptional populations, the deviation pairs for these groups (15-19 unit first) were +0.76, +0.75, and +1.65, +1.20 respectively. Variations in magnitude of difference were evident of course from city to city. That a general pattern exists, however, seems a valid proposition. Wilmington's atypicality of pattern as shown in the preceding chart lends support to this view. That city exhibits precisely the differences in deviation we would expect from a declining population.

Table 7

Deviations From Theoretical Pyramid by Five Age Groups, For Eight North Carolina Cities, by Race, 1930.

Age Groups	Asheville White Pop.		Asheville Negro Pop.		High Point White Pop.		High Point Negro Pop.	
	MD	FD	MD	FD	MD	FD	MD	FD
0-14	-1.25	-0.81	-1.82	-1.02	+0.87	+0.92	-1.28	-0.38
15-19	-0.42	-0.73	-0.21	+1.13	+0.59	+1.44	+0.32	+1.67
20-24	-0.06	+1.80	+0.65	+3.97	+2.01	+2.80	+2.84	+3.95
25-29	+0.59	+1.38	+1.24	+3.48	+1.47	+1.74	+2.27	+3.51
30-44	+1.56	+2.73	+1.20	+3.48	-0.01	-0.12	+1.65	+0.66

Age Groups	Charlotte White Pop.		Charlotte Negro Pop.		Raleigh White Pop.		Raleigh Negro Pop.	
0.14	-0.48	-0.98	-2.05	-1.02	-2.27	-0.51	-1.40	-0.80
15-19	-0.49	+0.32	-0.27	+1.45	-0.38	+0.07	+0.39	+1.53
20-24	+0.96	+2.40	+1.56	+4.05	+0.33	+1.50	+1.13	+3.09
25-29	+1.37	+2.16	+1.55	+3.38	+0.95	+1.82	+0.94	+2.32
30-44	+2.30	+2.02	+0.54	+1.81	+2.65	+2.71	+0.34	+1.50

Age Groups	Durham White Pop.		Durham Negro Pop.		Wilmington White Pop.		Wilmington Negro Pop.	
0.14	-0.08	+0.08	-1.13	-0.63	-0.46	-0.77	-0.59	+0.39
15-19	+0.09	+1.02	-0.04	+1.92	-0.01	+0.76	-0.07	+1.65
20-24	+1.00	+2.15	+1.49	+4.06	+0.35	+1.61	+0.10	+1.97
25-29	+0.96	+1.48	+1.46	+3.08	+0.21	+0.75	-0.08	+1.20
30-44	+0.82	+0.97	+0.74	+1.48	+0.47	+1.70	+0.06	+3.25

Table 7 (Con't.)

Age Groups	Greensboro White Pop. MD	FD	Greensboro Negro Pop. MD	FD	Winston-Salem White Pop. MD	FD	Winston-Salem Negro Pop. MD	FD
0.14	+0.74	+0.22	-1.72	-0.78	+0.75	+0.24	-1.66	-1.08
15-19	-0.10	+0.50	+0.10	+2.06	-0.10	+0.73	+0.05	+1.74
20-24	+0.67	+2.17	+1.43	+3.45	+0.74	+2.37	+1.76	+4.27
25-29	+0.81	+1.55	+1.49	+2.99	+1.11	+2.08	+1.85	+3.08
30-44	+0.97	+1.57	+0.43	+1.64	+1.22	+1.16	+1.33	+2.03

The analysis by five-year age groups indicates that female rural-urban migration is heaviest in the period from 20 to 24 years, although the age at which it begins is of course earlier. Anderson and Loomis found the same facts in their study of white migration from Wake County.[37] Migration is also quite heavy in the 25-29 year group, several deviations for this bracket closely approximating positive deviations for the younger group. This indicates that we may anticipate an average migration age somewhere around 25 years.

The relative importance of migration as a source of the present populations of North Carolina cities, and especially of the female population 20-29 years of age, may be brought out by considering the increments of population increase attributable

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[37] W. A. Anderson and C. P. Loomis, "Migration Among Sons and Daughters of White Farmers in Wake County, North Carolina, 1929," Bulletin 275, North Carolina Agricultural Experiment Station. (Raleigh; 1930), See Table 6, p.10.

Table V (Cont'd.)

[illegible]	+2.74 +0.28	-1.77 -0.76	-0.76 +0.[illegible]	-1.[illegible]	-1.[illegible]
16-19	-0.10 +0.80	+0.10 + .00	-[illegible]	+0.[illegible]	+1.74
20-24	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
25-29	-0.01 +1.00	+1.[illegible]	+1.[illegible]	-1.[illegible]	[illegible]
30-34	-0.07 +1.[illegible]	+[illegible]	-1.[illegible]	+1.[illegible]	[illegible]

The analysis by three-year age groups indicates that female rural-urban migration is heaviest in the period from 20 to 24 years, although the rate of migration is highest at earlier. Moreover our [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] quite nearly in the 5-49 year [illegible], [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

to natural increase, migration and territorial growth. Attention is here confined to Durham and there is no pretense of a refined analysis.[38] The total population of Durham increased by 30,318 persons from 1920 to 1930. This was the largest decennial increase in numbers in the history of the city's growth from bucolic hamlet of less than 100 inhabitants to industrial city of more than 60,000. The following table shows this growth in bald outline, and, incidentally, it shows there have been wide fluctuations in the rate of growth from

Table 9[39]

Population of Durham, N. C., 1865 to 1930, With Numerical and Per cent Increases, 1890 to 1930

Year	Population	Increase	
		Numerical	Per cent
1930	52,037	30,318	139.6
1920	21,719	3,478	19.1
1910	18,241	11,562	173.1
1900	6,679	1,194	21.8
1890	5,485	3,444	168.7
1880	2,041		
1870	256		
1865	100		

decade to decade, periods of great increase having been followed by years of little growth.

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[38]A refined analysis was not undertaken since the topic is ancillary to our central purpose. A precise account of the degree to which migration has added to a population is not a prior requisite to an investigation of the migration process itself.

[39]Figures for 1865 and 1870 were taken from W.K. Boyd, The Story of Durham (Durham: Duke University Press, 1925), p.97.

A quick, rough estimate of the extent to which the 30,300[40] increase of Durham's total population (1920-1930) was due to migration was obtainable by fixing increases attributable to natural increase and territorial expansion. Of the total increase, about 15,000 resulted from pushing the city's boundaries outward in 1925 when "the villages of East Durham and West Durham and the suburban regions of North Durham and Lakewood became a part of the City of Durham."[41] A special census fixed Durham's population at 42,258 in 1925, an increase of 20,539 (about 95 per cent) over 1920. In these five years, therefore, about 5,500 persons were added to the city's population by natural increase and migration. In the five year period ending in 1930 there was an increase of about 9,800 by these means, no other territory being added to the city.[42] The last mentioned increase was about 23 per cent over the population in 1925. All told, therefore, population increase attributable to natural increase and migration in the decade was around 15,300 persons.

By applying Hamilton's rates of natural increase[43] for urban and rural nonfarm population in the 1920-1930 period to Durham's white and Negro populations as of 1920, it was

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[40]Since the entire discussion was merely approximative, round numbers were used.

[41]Boyd, op. cit., p.320.

[42]Since the 1925 territorial increase a small piece of land belonging to Duke University has been incorporated into the city. The population increase was negligible. This last increment (February, 1933) brought the city's total territory to 13.25 square miles.

[43]Hamilton, op. cit., Table 12, p.48.

ascertained that the total natural increase for the decade was about 4,970 persons--5,000 as a round number. Deducting this from 15,300, the increase due to natural population movement plus migration, we have a remainder of 10,300 persons as the approximate migration increment. This is about 68 per cent of the increase attributable to factors other than boundary expansion. Putting it another way, territorial growth aside, about two-thirds of the population increase of Durham from 1920 to 1930 was attributable to migration. This rough estimate is probably too conservative, for the rates employed were derived from consideration of urban and rural nonfarm populations together. Were rates available for the strictly urban population alone, it is probable that we would have obtained a larger estimate of the migration increment. Hence the estimate of 10,300 is a minimum.

Another estimate was obtainable by applying crude increase rates to the white and Negro populations for the 1921-1925 period, and by employing a combined crude rate of natural increase for 1926-1930.[44] Such a mode of calculation yielded a total natural increase of about 2,400 persons. The difference between this figure and the one computed by Hamilton's rates is 2,600. This second estimate leaves a migration increment

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[44]Crude increase rates were taken from the 1935 Report, Durham Department of Health. The rates were those of 1930. A combined rate was used for 1926-1930 in the absence of information concerning the racial composition of the large 1925 increment.

of about 12,900 persons, 84 per cent of the increase resulting from natural movement plus migration.

If we compromise between these approximations by deducting half the difference from the larger estimate, we get a figure of 3,700 as the increment attributable to natural increase for 1920-1930. This indicates a numerical increase by migration of about 11,600 persons. By this reckoning the migration increment was approximately 76 per cent of all population increase not involving land acquisition by the city. These approximations are summarized in the following table.

Table 10

Estimates of Natural and Migration Increase, 1920 to 1930, Durham, N. C., With Migration Percentage.

Estimates of Nat'l Increase	Estimates of Migr'n Increase	Per cent Migr'n Forms of Total
5,000	10,300	68
2,400	12,900	84
3,700	11,600	76

If the moderate estimates are most representative of the actual state of affairs, then in the census decade ending 1930 an average of about 1,200 persons migrated to Durham each year, and approximately three-fourths of the population increase--boundary change excepted--for the entire city was attributable to this stream of migration.

The 1925 increment of 15,000 persons introduces difficulties in getting to an approximation of the part migration played in forming the 20-29 year female segments of the city's population in 1930. A rough estimate of the joint contribution of migration plus territorial expansion is quickly available, however, by employing Hamilton's rates of natural movement for urban and rural nonfarm populations--racially differentiated--in connection with 10-19 year segments of 1920. By subtracting 1920 numbers from those of 1930, and deducting increments due to natural change (slight increases in each racial group), we get figures representing increases attributable to migration plus territorial growth. Of an increase of 5,392 white women, an increment of 5059 seems to be the joint contribution of these two factors. This is 94 per cent of the total increase for the decade. Of a total increase of 3027 Negro women, migration and boundary change together contributed 2,975 persons, about 98 per cent of the entire increase. There is no doubt that these joint contributions were composed preponderantly of migrant women.

Granting that the central importance of migration as a factor in the population growth of Durham and probably other North Carolina cities has been demonstrated, the question arises, What are the causes of this migration? Stating this in a more formal way, How are we to conceive this rural-urban migration process? To what sort of frame of reference are we to order

women.

this behavior when it is considered in the large?

When we think of it as a kind of collective behavior, and ignore the psychological forces which may influence the actions of any specific person, rural-urban migration may be conceived as a resultant of two sets of forces: the demographic and the economic-technological forces. Although this division has heuristic value, it must be stressed that these groups of forces are very closely connected with one another. Each set may be further divided into forces of "pull" and forces of "push."[45]

The demographic pulling force inheres in the circumstance that urban populations do not reproduce themselves by natural population movement and they depend upon the stream of cityward migration to maintain or increase their numbers. The demographic push, in a sense the basic factor, stems from the tendency of rural populations to reproduce at rates creating excess populations. In this specific context such populations are excess in the sense that, if no opportunity for migration and gaining a niche in an urban occupational structure existed, they would not be able to secure a living in agriculture without widespread changes in standards of living or crop base, or in the technology of agricultural exploitation, or some combination of these. Thus Sorokin, Zimmerman, and Galpin write that

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[45] D. S. Thomas, Social Aspects of the Business Cycle. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1927), p.148.

"without the city the results of rural overpopulation would be devastating."[46] These writers consider the rural excess of births over deaths to be the "fundamental factor" in rural-urban migration.

> We know that in human affairs a large number of causes work together and that any social condition is the net result of a number of causes. Nevertheless, it must be stressed that the fundamental factor in migrations is this excess of births over deaths, and that the continued growth of population and cities depends largely upon such an excess somewhere in the rural districts.[47]

The economic pulling force is the occupational structure created by the economic organizations located in urban areas. Gaps in the nonreproducing urban ranks must be filled if economic functions performed by cities are to be continued. Directly implicated in the economic pull as set forth are the higher incomes and better standards of living characteristic of a part, at any rate, of urban populations. The economic push is the lower return on farm labor and the related lower standards of living.

Linked to the push and pull of economic forces and the associated differentials in living standards are a host of other factors. The task of exhibiting these--the causal factors in

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[46] P. A. Sorokin, C. C. Zimmerman, C. J. Galpin, A Systematic Source Book in Rural Sociology, 3 Vols. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1932), III, p.534.

[47] Ibid., p.465. Chapter XXII in the third volume of this work (pp.458-534) treats rural-urban migration and includes a discussion of causes, pp.464-479.

migration variously described as social, social psychological, psychological, psychic--will not be undertaken here. Undoubtedly these forces which are more difficult to discriminate are operative in influencing migration, but their demonstration is facile only when we are attending to concrete persons. When we treat migration in the large, the effects of the economic framework are more amenable to connective isolation. Hobbs has commented on the cityward drift in North Carolina, bringing out the argument essentially as advanced above:

> Farm labor returns and cash dividends on investments are below industrial labor returns and return on investment. The social advantages of urban life over rural life are probably as important as are the economic advantages. Human beings like to mix, to rub elbows. The towns have better schools, churches, trade conveniences, streets, shows and other forms of amusement, water, heat, light, and all the comforts, conveniences and luxuries that ingenuity and money can afford. The country, so far, has few of these.[48]

Although both demographic and economic factors influence the process of rural-urban migration, when we investigate the phenomena of migration from the terminal locus rather than

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[48] S. H. Hobbs, Jr., "Know Your Own State--North Carolina," Extension Bulletin, University of North Carolina, IV (1924), p.27. Dickey and Branson write that solitary homestead life "is in itself a denial of a primary social instinct--the craving for companionship," and they urge the role of lonesomeness as an important factor in cityward migration, especially among teen-age people. J. A. Dickey and E. C. Branson, "How Farm Tenants Live," Extension Bulletin, University of North Carolina, II (n.d.), pp.36-37. See N. P. Gist and L. A. Haebert, Urban Society. (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1933), pp.94-100.

from the point of inception of movement it is legitimate to regard residential mobility as a response to, or an adjustment to, the economic-technological environment. Antecedent technological change itself has been the dominant cause of the vast urbanization of the last century or so. It has operated in complementary ways: concentrating population at centers of power and machine production and releasing population from the soil by increasing productivity per worker in agriculture.[49] The per cent of all persons engaged in agriculture in the United States dropped from 52.8 in 1870 to 21.3 in 1930, but the supply of agricultural commodities is more than adequate.

A situation in which population moves in response to economic-technological change in a system utilizing mechanical energy and producing for large-scale markets has been designated mobile-equilibrium. Equilibrium means the balance between population and opportunities for earning a livelihood. A mobile-equilibrium may be contrasted with a biological-equilibrium, characteristic of agricultural regimes with relatively stable settlement bases.[50] In the latter situation there are seasonal variations in production, but "under a system of traditional cultivation" yields do not change much from time to time. The

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[49] Warren S. Thompson, Population Problems (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1935), pp.44-49.

[50] These concepts are formulated in R.D. McKenzie's The Evolving World Economy. Albert Kahn Foundation Reports, V. (New York: 1926), pp.47-49. This discussion is based directly on McKenzie's Exposition.

interplay of population and resources in such circumstances approximates the form visualized by Malthus.

> In regions where the economic base is stable and opportunities for migration are lacking balance between population and resources is maintained by variations in the death rate. In years of abundance the death rate declines and in years of scarcity it rises rapidly. But throughout a period of years the death rate closely approximates the birth rate, and population remains comparatively static. This natural condition of balance between numbers and resources we may call biological-equilibrium.[51]

In stable agricultural regions of the East, where human power may be the sole source of energy, large areas have reached a condition of biological-equilibrium at a subsistence level, with population almost static and density directly correlated with soil fertility.

But in industrialized areas the economic base of the region is a variable factor. Sudden changes in production result in disequilibrium. McKenzie writes that industrialism differs from agriculture in that it frequently exploits nonreplaceable resources. Once extracted the economic base of the region may vanish and if other productive enterprises are not substituted the population must migrate.

> Manufacture and commerce furnish similar conditions of regional instability. Any change in the market

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[51] McKenzie, op. cit., p.47.

> for a product of the region tends to disturb the equilibrium. The change may be of a positive or a negative character and may occasion disequilibrium by developing too fast or too slowly for the natural increase of population. In either case balance is achieved by movement. This we may call mobile-equilibrium.[52]

Equilibrium in a socio-economic order of capitalism and machine production is maintained by mobility rather than by variable death rates. Laissez-faire has had the corollary of laissez-passer in practice. In such circumstances "mobile-equilibrium replaces the biological-equilibrium of the old world order."

The concept mobile-equilibrium subsumes and organizes demographic and economic forces of push and pull. It is a frame of reference to which we may order natural population change and migration in North Carolina--and the Southeast generally--in the recent past. The growth of cities and increasing percentage of urban population in the Southeast are byproducts of economic-technological change in which machine production for a far-flung market has concentrated populations around centers of production. Commenting on increasing urbanization in the Southeast (1920-1930), Odum has said: "This increase of urban and industrial population was partly a natural technological product and partly a chronological development, in which metropolitan centers, chain stores, and

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[52]McKenzie, op. cit., pp.47-48.

manufactures were changing the regional landscape and capacity."[53] In the last four census years the Southeast's urban population as a percentage was: 15.3 (1900), 19.5, 23.9, 29.8 (1930).[54] The total per cent increase for the period was 175.9, above the nation's per cent increase for this period (126.9) but smaller than corresponding increases for the Southwest (453.9) and Far West (393.0) regions.[55] The urban population of North Carolina doubled from 1890 (7.2 per cent) to 1910 (14.4 per cent) and was slightly more than a quarter (25.5 per cent) of the state total in 1930. The recent urban gains are somewhat deceptive in North Carolina due to the passing of the 2,500 population criterion for classification as urban by smaller towns and to extensions of city boundaries.[56]

The growth of Durham and other North Carolina Piedmont cities is linked to the production of tobacco and textiles in the main. As early as 1872 twelve plants were manufacturing

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[53]H. W. Odum, Southern Regions of the United States (Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1936), p.71. See also W. J. Matherly, "The Urban Development of the South," Southern Economic Journal, I (1935), pp.3-26. Manufacturing as the central force in the Southeast's metropolitan development is stressed, pp.18-26.

[54]Taken from W. J. Matherly, "The Emergence of the Metropolitan Community in the South," Social Forces, XIV (1936), pp.311-325. See the table, p.312.

[55]Odum, op. cit., p.882. Of the 1930 urban population, 14.6 per cent were in metropolitan districts as defined by the Census Bureau. Ibid., p.68. Comparative regional data on extent of urbanization and per cents dwelling in metropolitan centers are available in Matherly's paper, cited in note 54.

[56]Hamilton, op. cit., p.43.

tobacco products in Durham. The oldest textile enterprise in the city began its activities in 1885 and other important mills were founded in the next decade. The story of the rise of industrialism in this region need not be repeated here, however, for it has been told many times.[57]

For this inquiry the essential fact is that urban centers function as economic pulling forces in the shifting about of population, attracting certain sorts of persons to them. Rural-urban migration may be conceived as a response to an

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[57] The literature is extensive and need not be reviewed here. See Odum's bibliographies, pp.607-620, and directly on this topic, Chap. VII, "Industry and Wealth," also pp.69-73, 79-83, op. cit. R. P. Vance's Human Geography of the South (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1932) has good tables, pp.280, 281, 288, and Chap. XII, "The Piedmont Crescent of Industry," contains an account of the growth of industry in this area. There are some concise presentations in "The Coming of Industry to the South," The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science. 153 (1931). In this source: C. T. Murchison, "Southern Textile Manufacturing" pp.30-42; B. Mitchell, "Growth of Manufactures in the South," pp.21-29; C. E. Landon, "Tobacco Manufacturing in the South," pp.43-53. Accounts dealing with North Carolina alone: S. H. Hobbs, Jr., North Carolina Economic and Social. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1930), pp.132-163 on growth of industry and pp.50-66 on occupational structure and population composition. C. K. Brown, "Industrial Development in North Carolina," The Annals as cited above, pp.133-140. Durham's industrial growth is recorded in Boyd, op. cit., Chaps. IV, V, VII, and VIII. An interesting early account is H. V. Paul's History of the town of Durham (Raleigh: Edwards, 1884). Durham's role as an industrial community attracting Negroes is stated in H. P. Brinton's The Negro in Durham. Ph. D. dissertation. University of North Carolina Library, 1930, pp.iii-vii.

economic-technological environment in which cities sift the populations they attract in a fashion selective of age and sex. Adjustment of population to opportunities for making a living is made by mobility; it is a situation of mobile-equilibrium. It is in this light that the age-sex compositions of the cities we have analyzed and symbolized as pyramids become intelligible. Cities with different economic and occupational structures draw populations of different age-sex characteristics to them.[58] Within metropolitan districts local areas exhibit different population patterns, depending upon land utilization, occupational-economic classes, and the coexistent cultural milieu.[59]

The pyramids representing the age-sex distributions of Detroit's Negro and foreign-born white populations (Chart 2) exhibit extreme structures whose character is determined in the large by the type of manufacturing centering in that city. These excess Detroit male populations in the middle years of productive life present marked contrasts to the age-sex patterns of North Carolina cities. Both sorts of populations come into existence in situations of mobile-equilibrium, but Detroit taps

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[58] Sorokin, Zimmerman, Galpin, op. cit., p.484, especially note 36. See R. E. Chaddock's comparison of age-sex characteristics of Detroit and Los Angeles, "Age and Sex in Population Analysis," The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 188 (1936), p.188.

[59] R. D. McKenzie, The Metropolitan Community. (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1933), Chap. XIII, "Population Patterning Within the Metropolitan Community," especially pp.179-186.

a much wider area in pulling migrants to it. The primary key to the young surplus female populations of North Carolina cities--Piedmont cities, at any rate--is to be found in the opportunities for the employment of women which exist in these urban areas. The only cities in the United States with more than 40 per cent of their female populations over ten years of age gainfully employed are some of the Piedmont cities in the two Carolinas--three of them in North Carolina. Table 11 presents these percentages for the cities whose age-sex structures

Table 11

Per cent of Women Ten Years and Over Gainfully Employed in Eight North Carolina Cities, 1930

Asheville	34.6	High Point	40.0
Charlotte	37.5	Raleigh	35.3
Durham	43.3	Wilmington	34.7
Greensboro	36.8	Winston-Salem	44.0

have been analyzed. Percentages for Durham, High Point, and Winston-Salem were 40 or higher.

Once a specific age-sex pattern has been formed, its character is a sociological factor influencing the institutional and economic life of a community as well as its political temper. This topic will not be pursued further here.

Chapter II

OBJECTIVE CHARACTERISTICS OF MIGRATION

The Source of the Data and Their Collection. Some Occupational Differences

This investigation approaches the phenomena of excess female populations as natural resultants of cityward migration. Migration itself is considered to be influenced by processes of industrialization and urbanization, by economic conditions obtaining in agricultural production, and finally by the push and pull of demographic forces. Any analyses we may undertake of female migration must be placed in the frame of the transitional period through which the North Carolina Piedmont and the Southeast are passing in adjustment to a new cultural environment. This new environment seems to be largely the result of technological change associated with the factory production of goods for widespread markets. The description of the objective characteristics of cityward migration will therefore be linked very frequently with occupational categories.

The questions formulated above as regulative of this study required for part of their answer the acquisition of a reasonably large collection of data relevant to migrant women. These data were taken from the records of the Durham branches of the North Carolina State Employment Service. An inspection of the active files of that agency revealed that a considerable number of the persons who had sought employment through it were not of local birth. This preliminary survey indicated that these agency records would yield information concerning a large number of women who were born outside of Durham and had migrated to the city.[1]

Registration with the Employment Service involves filing a formal application containing information customarily required by employers prior to retaining new workers. Accordingly, data concerning age, place of birth, marital status, occupation, education, length of time in city, and other socio-economic information appear on the form submitted by each applicant. It was evident that the objective aspects of migration to Durham might be studied through the exploitation of this material. For example, where required information is

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[1] Data for this portion of the investigation were taken off mainly in June, 1937. Since the Durham office began to operate in August, 1933, registrants for approximately a four-year period were in the agency's records. Recording of these data was begun in April, but access to the files was barred (except for agency employees) by statewide order until the first week in June. At that time the writer was given permission to resume use of the files through the kindly intervention of Mrs. Ethel Carr Lipscomb, head of the Durham office.

fully furnished--unfortunately not always the case--it is possible to ascertain the origin of migration in terms of place of birth, the age at time of migration, and the pattern of movement in space. In some cases marital status at time of migration may be inferred from information concerning the ages of children, or the dates of marriages or divorces, or similar materials. Part of the information given by agency applicants furnished data on the extent of interoccupational mobility among these migrant persons, and answers to questions regarding willingness to leave Durham to accept a job provide a rough index of "potential mobility" in the group.

From the active cases of the Employment Service, materials were taken off pertaining to 254 white women and 237 colored women who had migrated to Durham. This exhausted the cases of migrant women in the active files at the time this information was collected.[2] From the inactive white files 142 additional cases were selected by picking out every fifth case of migrant women at random. It was the purpose of this secondary selection to make the original group larger, and in gathering this additional material occupational designations were not considered. After this selection, special additions of cases of migration in certain occupational groups were made in an effort to get

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[2] A case becomes inactive when a person secures employment--whether through the Employment Service or otherwise--or fails to renew his application within three months. When a person remains unemployed renewal is required to keep the application active.

the occupational distribution of migrant women to approximate proportions which white women compose in the city's female occupational structure.[3] Duplication was avoided by checking all cases included in special additions against the original recordings of data. The last-mentioned addition consisted of 81 cases, 38 in mechanical and manufacturing occupations, 20 in the trade category, and 23 cases variously subsumed under designations of professional and semi-professional, transportation and communication workers. These additions exhausted the migrant cases in these occupational groups at the time the material was collected. The total number of white cases for which some data were taken off was thus brought to 477. The number of Negro migration cases was brought to 290 by the addition of data for 53 migrants from inactive files. This sum represented a complete expoitation of the migrant cases available in the Negro office of the Employment Service at the time these materials were collected. The total of all cases for which data were taken off was 767, and of this number white cases constituted 62.2 per cent and Negro cases 37.8 per cent.

For the purposes of this study a migrant woman was defined as one fifteen years or older at the time of migration. Since interest is centered concretely on the excess female population

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[3]On the assumption that, since migration has played a large part in Durham's population growth, migrant women would have entered various occupations in numbers roughly proportionate to available jobs in the different occupational groups.

in the range from 15 to 29 years, the age limit of fifteen years was used arbitrarily to eliminate cases of female migration at or under fourteen years of age. Such cases are therefore not part of the female migrant population here under investigation. A second consideration in fixing this standard was the fact that very few women are gainfully employed at fourteen years or less. Female employment outside the home is not evident in appreciable numbers until the fifteenth year and directly thereafter.[4]

It is pertinent here to examine the extent to which the occupational distribution of migrant cases approximated the city's occupational structure. For comparative purposes the detailed census materials on gainfully employed women were grouped into seven categories for both races. Women employed in agriculture, numbering eight in each race, were not considered in calculating this distribution. With this elimination the total number of gainfully employed women in Durham of both races was 9,387. Of this number 4,443 were white, a group constituting 13.6 per cent of the total native white population; 4,904 were Negro women, making up 26.2 per cent of the total Negro population. The following table shows the occupational distribution of the city by races for 1930:

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[4]Based on age data pertaining to gainfully employed women in the North Carolina cities whose age-sex structures have been analyzed above. See Appendix III, p.136, for details.

Table 12

Number and Per cent of Gainfully Employed Women, Ten Years of Age and Over, by Race and Occupational Group, Durham, N. C. 1930

Occupational Group	White		Negro	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
Manufacturing	2801	63.0	2392	48.8
Trans. & Commun.	50	1.1	--	--
Trade	453	10.2	39	0.8
Professional	709	16.0	232	4.7
Domestic	303	6.8	2179	44.4
Clerical	127	2.9	62	1.3
Totals	4443	100.0	4904	100.0

Occupational grouping of the female migrant population for which we have information showed that the effort to equate occupational categories in this group with the city proportions did not succeed in connection with the white cases, but the Negro groupings (to which no special occupational additions were made) approximated city percentages fairly closely in two important categories. Percentages for the city may be compared with percentages in the migrant population in the following table.

Durham's female occupational structure is in decided contrast to national occupational groupings.[5] While 18.5 per

[5]See Mary V. Dempsey, "The Occupational Progress of Women, 1910 to 1930," Bulletin 104, Women's Bureau, U. S. Department of Labor. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1933), pp.7-8 especially.

Table 13

Number and Per cent of 477 White and 290 Negro Migrant Women by Occupational Group, With Corresponding Durham Per cents

Occupational Group	Migrant Cases Number	Migrant Cases Per cent	Durham Per cent
White			
Manufacturing	220	46.1	63.0
Trans. & Commun.	3	0.8	1.1
Trade	41	8.4	10.2
Professional	40	8.4	16.0
Domestic	112	23.5	6.8
Clerical	61	12.8	2.9
Totals	477	100.0	100.0
Negro			
Manufacturing	125	43.5	48.8
Trans. & Commun.	--	--	--
Trade	--	--	0.8
Professional	31	10.7	4.7
Domestic	128	44.1	44.4
Clerical	--	--	1.3
Inexperienced	6	1.7	--
Totals	290	100.0	100.0

cent of the nation's employed women are in clerical occupations, the corresponding local figure is 7.1 per cent. The trade category makes up 9.0 per cent of the national distribution but is 4.2 per cent in Durham's occupational structure. The city's percentages are also substantially smaller than national figures for workers in transportation and communication and for professional women. Durham's 53.6 per cent in manufacturing and the corresponding national figure of 17.5 provide the central

comparison to which other differentials must be related. Differences of this sort are also evident when North Carolina's female occupational distribution is compared with that of the United States. The state's agricultural group (25.9 per cent) is three times as large as the nation's (8.5 per cent), and the state manufacturing component (25.2 per cent) is substantially larger than the nation's (17.5 per cent); in all other occupational classes national percentages are larger than those for the state. The penetration by women of occupational spheres demanding more training and education is less evident in the state than in the nation as a whole.

It was briefly indicated above that women engaged in manufacturing occupations in Durham (53.6 per cent of all employed females) were the key group in this city's occupational distribution. This occupational category and the domestic classification, or these in combination, dominate the female occupational structures of North Carolina cities.[6] The sums of these two percentages ranged from 57.6 per cent in the case of Raleigh to High Point's 81.0 per cent, with figures for seven cities exceeding 60.0 per cent. Where the percentage in manufacturing is not the dominant occupational group the domestic and personal service category tends to assume such a position.

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[6]See Appendix II, p.135, for a detailed tabulation of the number and per cent of all women in the various occupational classes in North Carolina cities.

Table 14

Per cent of All Women Employed in Manufacturing and Domestic and Personal Service in Eight North Carolina Cities, 1930.

City	Manufacturing Per cent	Domestic Per cent	Total
Asheville	8.5	54.1	62.6
Charlotte	15.2	48.9	64.1
Durham	53.6	26.2	79.8
Greensboro	25.8	38.3	64.1
High Point	54.0	27.0	81.0
Raleigh	6.3	51.3	57.6
Wilmington	8.8	56.5	65.3
Winston-Salem	53.9	25.8	79.7

In general the per cent of employed women in these urban centers in the clerical, professional and trade classifications tends to fall below corresponding national percentages.[7]

The various Negro occupational percentages are reflective of the traditional racial division of labor in which the more irksome and less remunerative tasks fall to the lot of colored women. The eight percentages representing the number of Negro women (among all employed females) in the domestic service groups range from 79.9 per cent (High Point) to 92.0 per cent (Wilmington). As percentages of the total number of employed Negro women there are large concentrations in the domestic

[7] There are exceptions. Raleigh's clerical group (19.1 per cent) exceeded the United States percentage (18.5) and Charlotte's (16.5 per cent) approached it. Asheville's professional women (16.0 per cent) exceeded the national figure (14.2 per cent) and Raleigh (13.9 per cent) and Greensboro (13.5 per cent) groups approximated this component of the national distribution.

classification in six cities, ranging from High Point's 81.6 per cent to Asheville's 93.5 per cent. In Durham and Winston-Salem, where domestic percentages were comparatively low (44.4 and 34.6 per cent respectively), we observe large Negro groups in manufacturing: Durham 48.8 per cent, Winston-Salem 61.2 per cent. In these cities the combined percentages of those employed in manufacturing and in domestic and personal services made up 93.2 per cent (Durham) and 95.8 per cent (Winston-Salem) of all employed Negro women.

Table 15

Negro Women Employed in Domestic and Personal Services as Per cent of All Employed Women and As Per cent of All Employed Negro Women, Eight North Carolina Cities, 1930.

City	Per cent of Negro Total	Per cent of City Total
Asheville	93.5	80.0
Charlotte	90.1	87.6
Durham	93.2[a]	87.7
Greensboro	88.0	84.9
High Point	81.6	79.9
Raleigh	88.0	85.5
Wilmington	84.3	92.0
Winston-Salem	95.8[a]	82.3

[a]Sum of manufacturing and domestic percentages.

The Sources of Migration

In order to analyze the sources of migration--motivated by the question, From where do migrant women to a specific city come?--a threefold territorial division was made of North Carolina. Durham County was considered as a separate entity. A "local belt," two counties in width, and inclusive of Caswell, Person, Granville, Vance, Alamance, Orange, Franklin, Chatham, Wake, Johnston, Lee, and Harnett counties, was set up as a distinct territorial unit. If Durham is taken as center and a circle with a radius the scalar equivalent of 50 miles is inscribed on a map of the state, the outer boundary lines of this local belt are roughly coterminous with the circumference of the circle. Migration from Durham County and from this belt of proximate counties will be designated local migration. The remainder of the state was considered as a third territorial entity. Migration from any part of this area will be designated nonlocal migration. Migration from other states will be referred to as interstate or "all other" migration, as the case may be.

This areal division seemed convenient for at least two reasons. It provided a facile way to differentiate local from nonlocal and other types of migration. It also yielded a well-defined territorial unit for more intensive analysis of

local migration sources.[8]

Place of birth data were used in classifying the migrant cases according to this territorial division. These data were employed because they were available for almost all cases and because of their relative clarity. Although most women who migrate to Durham seem to come directly from their place of birth, many migrate to other places before coming to that city. Unfortunately, in only about half the cases was the record of such movements clear and temporally complete on Employment Service forms. The information concerning mobility was too ambiguous in other cases to be useful in the study of migration sources.[9] Rather than using last place of residence prior to migration to Durham in the analysis of migration sources, therefore, it was deemed more desirable to use place of birth in fixing migration sources and to devote a special section to the patterns of horizontal mobility manifested in what materials were available in usable form.

When the total number of migrant cases was considered for source-analysis, data were lacking in but four cases, one white and three Negro. The table below presents the results of this

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[8] Political boundaries were employed because they were convenient for organizing our data. It is recognized--perhaps gratuitously--that cultural processes do not flow in conformity with political lines. The Point is that these blunt divisions are useful in analysis.

[9] These ambiguities were chiefly in the form of temporal gaps and discrepancies between residential and occupational information. Many persons have rather hazy notions of their past movements and places of residence. This also seems true with reference to jobs held in the past and their durations.

analysis for the entire group and by racial groups according to certain territorial entities. The extent to which the migration of this population was local in character is evident in the fact that 49.3 per cent of all cases were born either in Durham County or in one of the proximate counties of the local belt. Furthermore, 80.7 per cent of all these female migrants are natives of North Carolina. White migration seems to be

Table 16

Number and Per cent of 767 Female Migrants Born in Specified Areas, as a Whole and by Race

Area of Origin	Total Cases No.	Total Cases Per cent	White Cases No.	White Cases Per cent	Negro Cases No.	Negro Cases Per cent
Durham County	46	6.0	34	7.1	12	4.2
Local Belt N. C.	332	43.3	233	48.9	99	34.5
Nonlocal N. C.	241	31.4	131	27.5	110	38.3
South Carolina	74	9.7	36	7.6	38	13.2
Virginia	34	4.4	19	3.9	15	5.2
Georgia	15	2.0	8	1.7	7	2.4
Tennessee	7	--	6	1.3	1	--
All other	14	2.7[a]	9	1.8	5	2.1[a]
No data	4	0.5	1	0.2	3	--
Totals	767	100.0	477	100.0	290[b]	99.9

[a]These percentages are sums for combined Tennessee and "all other" cases.

[b]Negro computations were against a base of 287.

local to a greater degree than Negro migration. Among the white migrants 56.0 per cent of all cases were born in Durham County

and the local belt, while the corresponding percentage for colored migrants was 38.7. In the white group 83.5 per cent of the cases were born in North Carolina; among the Negro female migrants 77.0 per cent were natives of the state. The proportion of Negro migrants born in other states is therefore larger than the white proportion. The number of Negro cases with South Carolina birthplaces, for example, was 13.2 per cent, in contrast to the equivalent white figure of 7.6 per cent. The small number of cases with place of birth outside the state makes such comparison of dubious value.[10]

A further breakdown of the data pertaining to sources of migration was made according to the rural-urban classification.[11] This analysis showed that of all cases 87.5 per cent were of rural origin and 12.5 per cent were born in urban places. Among the definite territorial entities Virginia's 23.5 per cent was the largest urban proportion. Local and nonlocal migration included urban components of 10.2 and 12.9 per cent respectively, and urban proportions from South Carolina (12.2 per cent) and Georgia (13.3 per cent) were close to these North Carolina figures. These data were then further broken down by racial

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[10] Although the number of interstate cases is small, it may be pointed out that these cases are proportioned pretty much as all interstate female migrants to North Carolina were (1920-1930) considering place of birth. See Hamilton, op. cit., Table 16, p.55.

[11] The Census criterion of urban was used. Since several small North Carolina cities reached or passed the urban population mark in 1920-1930, all cases of urban birth in smaller cities (under 10,000) as of 1930 were checked against their 1920 status. A similar check was carried out for interstate migrants.

Table 17

Number and Per cent of 767 Female Migrants Born in Specified Areas, According to Rural-Urban Classification

Area of Origin	Rural		Urban		Total Cases
	No.	Per cent	No.	Per cent	
Durham County	46	100.0	0	0.0	46
Local Belt N. C.	298	89.8	34	10.2	332
Non local N. C.	210	87.1	31	12.9	241
South Carolina	65	87.8	9	12.2	74
Virginia	26	76.5	8	23.5	34
Georgia	13	86.7	2	13.3	15
Tennessee	6	--	1	--	7
All other	4	--	10	--	14
Totals[a]	668	87.5	95	12.5	763

[a]No data available in four cases.

groups. Approximately similar percentages were of rural and urban origin in the two races. Thus 87.0 per cent of the white cases had rural places of birth. The equivalent Negro component was 88.5 per cent. Sixty-two of the white migrants (13.0 per cent) were of urban origin and 33 Negro cases (11.5 per cent) were thus classified. When considered in the large, interracial differences in terms of the rural-urban dichotomy are not very significant. Considering separate territories of origin in terms of this classification, we find that interracial differences were substantial only in the case of South Carolina and Virginia. The relative proportions of migrants of rural and urban origin were about the same for the races in the other

territorial units by which analysis has been made. But while the urban component for the 36 white South Carolina cases was 16.7 per cent, the corresponding proportion for 38 Negro cases was 7.9 per cent. A similar relation obtained among the smaller number of Virginia cases (white urban cases 31.6 per cent, Negro urban cases 13.3 per cent). The results of the analysis by racial groups are tabulated below.

Table 18

Number and Per cent of 477 White and 290 Negro Female Migrants Born in Specified Areas, According to Rural-Urban Classification

	White				Negro			
	Rural		Urban		Rural		Urban	
Area of Origin	No.	Per C.	No.	Per C.	No.	Per C.	No.	Per C.
Durham County	34	100.0	0	0.0	12	100.0	0	0.0
Local Belt N. C.	209	89.7	24	10.3	89	89.9	10	10.1
Nonlocal N. C.	113	86.3	18	13.7	97	88.2	13	11.8
South Carolina	30	83.3	6	16.7	35	92.1	3	7.9
Virginia	13	68.4	6	31.6	13	86.7	2	13.3
Georgia	8	--	0	--	5	--	2	--
Tennessee	5	--	1	--	1	--	0	--
All other	2	--	7	--	2	--	3	--
Totals[a]	414	87.0	62	13.0	254	88.5	33	11.5

[a]No data available for four cases.

The sources of migration were also analyzed according to occupational groupings. For this purpose the territorial units were consolidated into a threefold classification: local, nonlocal, and all other sources of migration. There is no

analysis of the group as a whole according to occupations since the trade and clerical categories were represented by white migrants alone. The data are therefore presented by race. A rural-urban breakdown by occupational classes was also undertaken, but the number of urban cases for the various occupations was so small when considered alone[12] that it seemed unprofitable to carry the project out.

Perhaps the most striking fact emerging from this analysis is the greater degree to which professional women seem to be drawn from extra-state sources in contrast with other occupational groups in both races. Among the white professional migrants 45.0 per cent (18 of 40 cases) came from outside the state; this group among Negro cases made up 41.9 per cent of the professional women (13 or 31 cases). The number of cases--unhappily--is small in each racial group, but the large percentages suggest the hypothesis that female migration to Durham is occupationally selective in terms of the proportions of women in each occupational class drawn from local, nonlocal, and other sources. The number of women of outstate origin in the other white occupational groups made up percentages grouped closely together, ranging from the trade category's 12.2 per cent to the 14.4 per cent of domestic workers. The largest

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[12]Negro urban cases by occupations: manufacturing 14, professional 10, domestic and personal 9. White urban cases by occupations: manufacturing 19, trade 7, professional 14, domestic and personal 14, clerical 13.

Table 19

Number and Per cent of 477 White Female Migrants Born in Specified Areas, by Occupational Group.

Area of Origin	Manufacturing		Trade		Profession	
	No.	Per cent	No.	Per cent	No.	Per cent
Local	130	58.3	25	61.0	10	25.0
Nonlocal	62	27.8	11	26.8	12	30.0
All other	31	13.9	5	12.2	18	45.0
Totals	223[a]	100.0	41	100.0	40	100.0
Area of Origin	Domestic		Clerical		Totals	
	No.	Per cent	No.	Per cent	No.	Per cent
Local	72	64.9	30	49.2	267	56.0
Nonlocal	23	20.7	23	37.7	131	27.5
All other	16	14.4	8	13.1	78	16.5
Totals	111	100.0	61	100.0	476[b]	100.0

[a]Includes three cases in transportation and communication group.

[b]No data available for one case.

nonlocal migration component among white migrants was that of the clerical group--37.7 per cent. The trade and domestic workers showed the greatest local origin concentrations among white cases--61.0 and 64.9 per cent respectively.

The Negro occupational categories, following the general disposition of the colored group, displayed no large percentages of local origin. For example, the Negro domestic group with birthplaces in the local area constituted 38.2 per cent of that category in contrast to the equivalent white figure of 64.9 per cent. Negro domestic workers of nonlocal origin made

up 45.0 per cent of that occupational group; the white percentage was 20.7. Similar interracial percentage differences were present for the manufacturing workers.

Table 20

Number and Per cent of 290 Negro Female Migrants Born in Specified Areas, by Occupational Group

Area of Origin	Manufacturing		Profession		Domestic		Totals	
	No.	Per cent	No.	Per cent	No.	Per cent	No.	Per cent
Local	51	40.8	10	32.3	50	38.2	111	38.7
Nonlocal	43	34.4	8	25.8	59	45.0	110	38.3
All other	31	24.8	13	41.9	22	16.8	66	23.0
Totals	125	100.0	31	100.0	131[a]	100.0	287[b]	100.0

[a]Includes six inexperienced cases.

[b]No data available for three cases.

On the whole, Negro migration among our cases is much less local in character than white migration. Twenty-three per cent of the Negro birthplaces were outside the state while the corresponding white percentage was 16.5. Nonlocal numbers constituted 38.3 per cent and 27.5 per cent of the Negro and white migrants respectively. Although these facts may be reflective of the general character of migration to Durham, it is doubtful if similar sorts of relations would prevail among female migrant populations to other North Carolina cities if they were thus analyzed. Durham--as a "Negro metropolis"--

has the reputation of being a good environment for colored people to live and work in, and this may be a factor drawing Negro people to the city from more distant sources.[13]

Although rural-urban analysis by occupational groups did not seem profitable applied to the threefold territorial division used in Tables 19 and 20, the results of the use of this dichotomy with total numbers for occupational categories, and with a racial division in each occupational group, seemed significant. In the following table the proportions of the total migrant group of rural and urban origins are presented by occupational classes. It seems evident that some sort of selective process--perhaps connected with differential educational opportunities--has been operative; some occupational categories seem to have attracted relatively many more persons of urban origin than others. The professional women provided the most striking case in point. They constituted 25.3 per cent of all urban cases but only 7.2 per cent of the rural group. In the clerical category (composed solely of white cases) the urban component was 13.7 per cent of the urban total, but clerical workers of rural origin composed only 7.2 per cent of all rural cases. The opposite situation prevailed with respect

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[13] See Brinton, op. cit., pp.iii-vii. Illustrative: while interviewing a young member of the Negro YWCA in connection with another part of this study the writer was asked: "Why do people everywhere talk about Durham?" "Do they?" "Of course they do, from Florida to Harlem," was her reply. She referred, of course, to Durham as Negro metropolis, not merely as another small North Carolina city. Italics in the subject's voice.

Table 21

Number and Per cent of 767 Female Migrants of Rural and Urban Birth, By Occupational Group

Occupational Group	Rural		Urban	
	No.	Per cent	No.	Per cent
Manufacturing[a]	315	47.2	33	34.7
Trade	34[b]	5.1	7[b]	7.4
Professional	47	7.0	24	25.3
Domestic	224[c]	33.5	18	18.9
Clerical	48[b]	7.2	13[b]	13.7
Totals[d]	668	100.0	95	100.0

[a]Includes three cases in transportation and communication group.

[b]Composed of white cases only.

[c]Includes six inexperienced Negro cases.

[d]No data available for four cases.

Table 22

Number and Per cent of 477 White Female Migrants of Rural and Urban Birth, By Occupational Group

Occupational Group	Rural		Urban		Total
	No.	Per cent	No.	Per cent	Cases
Manufacturing[a]	204	49.3	19	30.6	223
Trade	34	8.2	7	11.3	41
Professional	26	6.3	14	22.6	40
Domestic	102	24.6	9	14.5	111
Clerical	48	11.6	13	21.0	61
Totals	414	100.0	62	100.0	476[b]

[a]Includes three cases in transportation and communication group.

[b]No data available for one case.

to domestic workers. Domestic workers of rural origin were 33.5 per cent of that grouping, but their urban numbers constituted only 18.9 per cent of the urban total. Workers in manufacturing made up a larger rural percentage (47.2) than they did an urban percentage (34.7), while the trade category contributed slightly more heavily to the urban than to the rural total. There seems to be a tendency for those of urban origin to be drawn in relatively greater numbers to the occupations which require more training and education of a formal variety. Differences in the rural and urban origin percentages which occupational groups compose in these groups are thrown into sharp perspective when tabulated by race.

The professional, clerical and trade categories among the white cases showed greater percentages in their urban components while the manufacturing and domestic workers had larger rural percentages. Among professional women the 22.6 per cent representing cases with urban birthplaces was more than three times as large as the rural percentage of 6.3. The clerical urban group (21.0 per cent) was almost twice as great as the rural component (11.6) per cent) in that occupational group. The larger rural percentages for the manufacturing and domestic groups were substantially greater than corresponding urban figures: manufacturing, 49.3 and 30.6 per cents; domestic workers, 24.6 and 14.5 per cents.

The analysis of Negro cases showed that rural and urban percentages in the manufacturing category almost balanced--43.7 per cent and 42.4 per cent respectively. The colored urban professional percentage (30.3) was more than three times as great as the professional component (8.3 per cent) in the rural classification. Negro domestic workers were a proportionately larger group in rural numbers (45.6 per cent) than in urban ranks (27.3 per cent).

Table 23

Number and Per cent of 290 Negro Female Migrants of Rural and Urban Birth, by Occupational Group

Occupational Group	Rural		Urban		Total Cases
	No.	Per cent	No.	Per cent	
Manufacturing	111	43.7	14	42.4	125
Professional	21	8.3	10	30.3	31
Domestic	116	45.6	9	27.3	125
Inexperienced	6	2.4	0	0.0	6
Totals	254	100.0	33	100.0	287[a]

[a]No data available for three cases.

In both races, then, the tendency was observed for domestic workers' ranks to be made up of relatively larger numbers of migrants of rural than urban origin. The white manufacturing workers presented a similar clear-cut difference, but Negro workers subsumed under this label contributed in a comparatively

equitable fashion to rural and urban totals. Professional workers in both races and white clerical and trade groups showed a marked tendency toward contributing larger urban components. It was suggested above that some selective process connected with variant educational opportunities has been patterning the flow of female migrants into certain sorts of employment. Female migrants of urban origin were drawn in greater numbers to employment which exacts larger temporal increments of education and training. These persons also tend to make up relatively larger components of migration from nonlocal and interstate sources than of local belt migration.[14] Interoccupational differences in terms of relative numbers of rural and urban origin was sharply brought out by percentage analysis of cases within these groupings by race. The various tendencies which have been discussed are evident in this perspective.

A more intensive analysis of the sources of migration within the local belt (exclusive of Durham County) was carried out for the total number of female migrants from this area and also for racial groups. The rural cases--which constituted around 90.0 per cent in each race--were analyzed separately and the results of this mode of organization are presented in the

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[14]See Tables, 19, 20, pp.68, 69.

Table 24

Percentages of 477 White Female and 290 Negro Female Migrants of Rural and Urban Birth, by Occupational Group

Occupational Group	White			Negro		
	Total Cases	Rural Per cent	Urban Per cent	Total Cases	Rural Per cent	Urban Per cent
Manufacturing	223[a]	91.5	8.5	125	88.8	11.2
Trade	41	82.9	17.1	-	-	-
Professional	40	65.0	35.0	31	67.7	32.3
Domestic	111	91.9	8.1	125	92.8	7.2
Clerical	61	78.7	21.3	6[b]	100.0	0.0
Totals	476[c]			287[d]		

[a]Includes three cases in transportation and communication group.

[b]Six Negro cases reported as inexperienced.

[c]No data available for one case.

[d]No data available for three cases.

following tabulation. The small number of migrants of urban birth were considered separately.

The largest contribution to this total rural migrant population was Wake County's 22.1 per cent.[15] Cases from this area also constituted the largest groups in each race, 20.2 and 23.0 per cent of white and Negro cases respectively. The other relatively large components of the total migrant group were

[15]Were urban origins included in this analysis, percentages from this county would have been greater, for Raleigh contributed 12 cases among the 34 female migrants of urban birth.

Table 25

Number and Per cent of 298 Female Migrants of Rural Origin Born in Specified Local Belt Counties, As a Group and by Race

County[a]	Total		White		Negro	
	No.	Per cent	No.	Per cent	No.	Per cent
Person	23	7.7	15	7.2	8	9.0
Granville	39	13.1	28	13.4	11	12.4
Vance	12	4.0	7	3.3	5	5.6
Alamance	8	2.7	3	1.4	5	5.6
Orange	35	11.7	25	12.0	10	11.2
Franklin	11	3.7	11	5.3	0	0.0
Chatham	39	13.1	28	13.4	11	12.4
Wake	66	22.1	48	23.0	18	20.2
Johnston	20	6.7	8	3.8	12	13.5
Lee	12	4.0	5	2.4	7	7.9
Harnett	33	11.1	31	14.8	2	2.2
Totals	298	99.9	209	100.0	89	100.0

[a]There were no cases from Caswell County in this migrant population.

drawn from Chatham, Granville, Orange and Harnett. With the exception of Harnett these areas are contiguous to Durham County. A fifth contiguous territory--Person County--contributed the next largest percentage (7.7) to the total group. Migration to Durham from within the local belt in this female migrant population was made up of relatively greater numbers from the adjacent political divisions.

Granville and Chatham Counties contributed identical percentages to both racial groups--13.4 per cent of white and 12.4 per cent of Negro cases. The Wake County racial percentages were also fairly close to one another. There were, however,

*There were no cases from Cornwall County in the figures for this table.

however, some substantial interracial percentage differences. Harnett County's colored percentage of 14.8 was emphatically larger than its white percentage of 2.2. Johnston County cases made up 13.5 per cent of the Negro group and 3.8 per cent of the white. The number of cases for each of these territories was too small to venture any conclusions pertaining to the extent to which they have contributed generally to female migration to Durham. Such percentage differences as have emerged from this analysis suggest the desirability of more extensive investigation of local migration sources. Nevertheless, this mode of organizing our data does indicate that, viewing the stream of female migration from its terminus, the larger percentages in both racial groups have been drawn from counties adjacent to Durham County, while the outer counties in the delimited local belt have contributed relatively small groups of migrant women. This is congruent of course with the point stressed in another context that the migration of the entire group for which data were taken off is very much local (in the usual connotation) in character, for almost half of all the migrant cases were born in Durham County itself or in a county of the local belt and more than four-fifths (80.7 per cent) of the total were born in the state.

We may briefly consider the migrants of urban birth from within the local belt. There were 34 such cases, 24 white and 10 Negro. Of this number 12 came from Raleigh (7 white

and 5 Negro migrants). When classified according to size of city these cases were distributed as follows: under 5,000 population, 19 cases; under 25,000, 3 cases; over 25,000, 12 cases. After Raleigh the "larger" contributions were Oxford's 7 cases, and Dunn and Roxboro with 4 cases each.

The Pattern of Migration

We shall not use the term "pattern of migration" in a sheerly spatial intension. Migration of course always involves movement in space. Studies of the spatial aspects of migration have resulted in classifications of migrants according to distance journeyed and among other things have elucidated intersexual differences in mobility connected with the amount of space covered. Women tend to be in the majority in short-journey migration, for example, while men usually predominate in long-journey migration.[16] We are not here concerned, however, with physical space, although it is sometimes hypothesized that the social significance of migration in terms of cultural contrasts impinging on the migrant tends to be correlative with the mileage covered.[17] It is probable that in our migrant

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[16]See, for example, the readings by E. G. Ravenstein in Sorokin, Zimmerman, Galpin, op. cit., pp.611-619.

[17]For a discussion of this point see Warren S. Thompson, Research Memorandum on Internal Migration in the Depression (New York: Social Science Research Council, 1937), pp.11-13.

population a majority did not cover more than 100 or 125 miles in migrating to Durham. The term "pattern of migration" will be used here to discriminate not "how far" persons have traveled but "how many stops" they have made--if any-- in the course of migrating. This implicates a temporal perspective.

Complete data[18] pertaining to pattern of migration were found for 399 among the total number (767) of female migrants. These were 52.0 per cent of the entire group. Of the cases available for this analysis 271 were white female migrants

Table 26

Number and Per cent of Female Migrants Available for Migration Pattern Analysis by Race and by Rural-Urban Origins, with Rural-Urban Composition

Racial Group	Total Migrant Cases	Total Available No.	Total Available Per.	Rural Cases Available No.	Rural Cases Available Per cent	Urban Cases Available No.	Urban Cases Available Per cent	Per. of Available Rural	Per. of Available Urban
White	477	271	56.8	240	58.0	31	50.0	88.6	11.4
Negro	290	128	44.1	109	42.9	19	57.6	85.2	14.8
Totals	767	399	52.0	349	52.2	50	52.6	87.5	12.5

(56.8 per cent of the white total) and 128 were Negro (44.1 per cent of all colored cases). The available white cases

[18]Data were complete for this purpose when a full account of time consumed from date of leaving home to date of Durham arrival appeared on the Employment Service case form. As has been indicated previously, many persons have hazy notions concerning their jobs and movements in the past. This is reflected in the small number of cases itself.

were composed of 240 rural and 31 urban migrants--58.0 and 50.0 per cent respectively of the total white rural and urban groups. Complete Negro cases numbered 128 and were constitutive of 109 rural and 19 urban female migrants. These were 42.9 per cent and 57.6 per cent respectively of rural and urban cases. Viewing these arrays as totalities with the rural-urban bifurcation we find rural cases composing 88.6 per cent and 11.4 per cent of the available white total. Corresponding Negro components were 85.2 per cent and 14.8 per cent respectively. This information is summarized in Table 26.

With attention directed to the "how" of coming to Durham, the striking fact which came out of the analysis was this: 69.2 per cent of the female migrants, or 276 of the 399 cases for which complete data were found, migrated to Durham directly from county, town or city of birth. This very high percentage may not be representative of the general state of affairs, unfortunately, for the amount of detailed information required in order that a case be "available" increases directly in proportion as the person has been mobile. It may well be that the nature of our purpose has led to a disproportionate selection of the very migrant females who had the least detail to recall concerning past movements, and among whose records we would accordingly find the largest number of usable cases. Although these materials are impugnable in this manner, curiosity concerning a seemingly little-studied phase of cityward migration induced us to attempt an analysis.

Five general patterns of movement were discriminated with regard to migrants of rural origin. These were based on the number and kind of "stops" made by persons in coming to Durham. A stop was defined as a recorded instance of employment in a given place regardless of duration. Some temporal criterion would have been more desirable for accuracy, perhaps, but this did not seem feasible.[19] At all events, the following table summarizes information pertaining to migrants of rural birth according to five patterns of migration.

The only general tendency which may be noted (bearing in mind the limitations of our material) is the fact that migration seems to have been a pretty direct affair. This was more pronouncedly the trend among white cases. When the first two patterns--direct migration from rural area and migration with one intermediate stop in a small city--are considered together they compose 87.1 and 79.8 per cent of available white and Negro migrants respectively. Cases included in all other categories were too heterogeneous for summary comment. If our data are representative in any appreciable degree of the general state of affairs, movement to Durham is dominantly a direct phenomenon with few intermediate stops. This is congruent with

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[19] This would have entailed an inordinate amount of calculation which did not seem worthwhile in view of the character of the data. In addition, it would have cut the number of available cases still more, for in some cases temporal details were reported in months and in others only in years. Had a temporal criterion of a stop in terms of a number of months been used, cases for which yearly data alone were recorded would have been eliminated. But such cases were usable on the definition of a stop given above.

Table 27

Number and Per cent of 240 White and 109 Negro Female Migrants of Rural Origin Moving to Durham, N. C., According to Specified Migration Patterns

Pattern	White		Negro	
	No.	Per cent	No.	Per cent
Direct movement from a rural area	198	82.5	52	47.4
One stop in city of less than 5,000 population	11	4.6	35	32.1
Two or more stops in cities of less than 5,000 population	8	3.3	11	10.1
One or more stops including a city of more than 25,000 population	9	3.8	7	6.4
One or more rural stops only, or plus one or more stops in cities of less than 5,000 population	14	5.8	4	3.7
Totals	240	100.0	109	100.0

our findings concerning the extent to which the sources of migration are of a local character. The fact that movement among white females tends to be more direct than colored female migration fits in with the tendency of Negro women to come from interstate and nonlocal sources in relatively larger numbers than white women.

The urban migrant cases were few in number (of those available for pattern-analysis) and did not lend themselves to tabulation other than in the form of a general direct-indirect dichotomy. There were 31 white urban cases from cities of

various sizes. Of this group 18 migrated directly to Durham from city of birth and 13 moved in various indirect ways. Among 19 available Negro cases of urban birth, 8 were classified as direct and 11 as indirect in pattern of movement. There was no instance among these cases of a person having moved to a rural area in the course of indirect migration.

It was noted above that analysis by "stop-patterns" implicated a temporal perspective. An analysis of migration by means of explicit temporal referents was accordingly carried out. A classification was made based on total time consumed between inception of movement and time of Durham arrival. Temporal spans were measured from first "stops" (as defined above) where these were available. Cases of direct migration and any falling into the "less than one month" category were determinable from employment histories and length of time in city. There were more cases in usable form for this purpose than for the immediately preceding inquiry. Total temporal span was determinable for this mode of organizing our data in cases in which details concerning intermediate stops were obscure and/or missing. From among our migrant group 493 cases were culled which were available for this analysis. These composed 64.3 per cent of the total. Of the number available 334 were white (70.0 per cent of the white total) and 159 were Negro (54.8 per cent of the Negro total) women. As proportions of the available total, racial percentages were: white cases 67.7, Negro cases 32.3.

Table 28

Number and Per cent of 493 Female Migrants Moving to Durham, N.C. Within Specified Periods of Time, As a Group and by Race

Time Period	Total		White		Negro	
	No.	Per cent	No.	Per cent	No.	Per cent
Less than one month.	340	68.9	254	76.0	86	54.1
More than one month but less than six months.	65	13.2	28	8.4	37	23.3
More than six months but less than a year.	37	7.5	22	6.6	15	9.4
Between one and two years	23	4.7	16	4.8	7	4.4
More than two years.	28	5.7	14	4.2	14	8.8
Totals	493	100.0	334	100.0	159	100.0

In the table above our data are ordered according to a five-fold division. These five temporal categories are not in any one-to-one relation with the five patterns of movement employed in Table 27, although the first divisions are somewhat analogous in that all cases of direct movement fell into the first temporal grouping. From this tabulation it seems evident that a preponderant number of our female migrants completed movement to Durham within a short period of time. This fact emerged with greater emphasis among white cases. The white component migrating in less than one month was 76.0 per cent; the corresponding Negro figure was 54.1 per cent. The white contribution to all cases moving through periods exceeding one year was 9.0 per cent in contrast to the Negro per centage of 13.2. The general tendency for migration to occur in a short

period of time and the observed interracial percentage differences fit in with the trends noted in our source-analysis by consolidated territorial entities. The results of both analyses in this section indicate that there has been little migration by states.

Age at Time of Migration

Data pertaining to age at time of migration were readily available by subtracting length of time in city from age at time of registration with the Employment Service. In this way information was obtained for 744 migrants, or 97.0 per cent of the total group. This number was composed of 465 white and 279 Negro female migrants. These totals were 97.5 per cent and 96.2 per cent respectively of all white and colored cases. When divided according to rural and urban origins, there were 403 white rural cases and 62 urban ones. Among the available Negro group were 247 rural and 32 urban migrants. The total number of rural cases was therefore 650 and the urban total was 94.

Mean age at time of migration, standard deviations and standard errors of these means were computed for various segments of the available cases.[20] This was done by organizing the

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[20] Formulae employed were from C. B. Davenport and M. P. Ekas, Statistical Methods in Biology, Medicine and Psychology (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1936), p.159.

age data into frequency distributions composed of eight classes, ranging from those migrating to Durham between 15-19 years to the group including all cases migrating at fifty years or over. It may be repeated here that we have limited our universe to cases of female migration which occurred at or over fifteen years.

The mean age at migration of the 744 available cases was 25.67 years, with a standard deviation of 7.99 and a standard error of $\mp$.29. The mean ages of available white and Negro cases were, in that order, 26.32 and 24.58 years. As a group the Negro cases seem to have migrated at a younger age. The calculation of a critical ratio[21] of the difference between these means, which was 3.02, showed it to be a highly significant difference. The difference between mean ages at time of migration of those of rural and urban origin was also very reliable. Mean age of rural migration was 25.42 years, and cases of urban origin had a mean age of 27.39 years. The critical ratio of the difference between these means was 2.75. Statistically significant but smaller critical ratios were found for differences between the mean ages at time of migration of the rural and urban components within races. Thus the white

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[21]Davidson and Ekas' formula for obtaining this ratio in terms of the standard error of the difference between two means was used. If the difference between means exceeds this standard error by two times, the difference is probably significant. Op. cit., p.159, and discussion, pp.37-38.

rural cases migrated at the mean age of 26.11 years and the white urban cases at 27.66 years. The critical ratio of this difference was 2.03. Negro migrants of rural origin averaged 24.28 years at migration while urban Negro migrants had a mean age of 26.88 years. There was a critical ratio of 2.14 for the difference between these means. Mean ages, standard deviations and standard errors of the means for these groups are presented in the following table.

Table 29

Mean Age at Migration With Standard Deviation and Standard Error of Mean for 744 Female Migrants, As a Group, by Race, and by Rural-Urban Origins

Group	Cases	m	SD	SE_m
All available	744	25.67	7.99	∓.29
White	465	26.32	8.14	∓.38
Negro	279	24.58	7.50	∓.45
All rural	650	25.42	8.11	∓.32
White rural	403	26.11	8.35	∓.42
Negro rural	247	24.28	7.57	∓.48
All Urban	94	27.39	6.44	∓.66
White Urban	62	27.66	6.41	∓.81
Negro Urban	32	26.88	6.47	∓1.14

When rural and urban components were compared interracially in the manner employed above, a highly significant critical ratio of 2.84 was found for the difference between mean white rural age at migration (26.11 years) and mean Negro rural age at migration (24.28 years). White urban cases moved at an average

age of 27.66 years, while the Negro urban cases migrated at a mean age of 26.88 years. The critical ratio of the difference between these urban means--0.56--indicated that it was not a statistically significant difference.

This analysis indicates that Negro migration takes place at an earlier age than white migration. Migrants of rural origin move at an earlier age than those of urban birthplace. Negro rural migration has taken place at a significantly earlier average age than white rural migration. Negro urban migrants moved to Durham at a slightly younger mean age than white urban migrants, but the difference in this instance was not significant.

The treatment of these data by the calculation of means and standard deviations has given us some notion of central tendencies of age at time of migration and of the relative dispersion of cases about these tendencies. We have thus been able to make certain group predications. This sort of procedure, however, has not enabled us to elucidate some differences in the age structures of these groups at migration which may be brought out by casting the data into different perspective.

Important differences may be made clear by computing the percentages which certain age brackets constitute in the various female migrant groups. Thus in Table 30 cumulative numbers and percentages of women who have migrated between 15 and 19 years, together with the number and per cent of women moving at 30 years of age or more, are presented for the total number of

Table 30

Cumulative Number and Per cent of 744 Female Migrants Moving to Durham, N. C., Within Specified Ages, as A Group and by Race.

Migrating Between	Total		White		Negro	
	No.	Per cent	No.	Per cent	No.	Per cent
15 and 19	197	26.5	101	21.7	96	34.4
15 and 24	421	56.6	248	53.5	173	62.0
15 and 29	585	78.6	359	77.2	226	81.0
at 30+	159	21.4	106	22.8	53	19.0

available cases and by race. It may be noted immediately that although the mean age at migration of our total group was slightly more than 25 years (25.67), more than a quarter of all the cases for which we have data moved to Durham during their teens. The Negro component migrating in the teen bracket (34.4 per cent) was substantially larger than the corresponding white group (21.7 per cent). Sixty-two per cent of all Negro migrants had moved to Durham between 15 and 24 years of age; the equivalent white figure was 53.5 per cent. Movement at an age within the twenties was more characteristic of the white than of the Negro cases. Among all white migrants 55.5 per cent moved to Durham sometime during this period. The corresponding Negro group composed 46.6 per cent of the colored cases. A slightly greater proportion of the white migrants (22.8 per cent) moved to the city at 30 years of age or later than did Negro migrants (19.0 per cent). Although mean ages at migration

clustered in the mid-twenties, it is evident from these percentages that a fairly large proportion of our cases migrated relatively late in life. A total of 55 cases moved to the city when 40 years old or more (7.4 per cent of all migrants).

An analysis by similar age divisions was carried out according to rural-urban origin classification in conjunction

Table 31

Cumulative Number and Per cent of 650 Rural and 94 Urban Female Migrants Moving to Durham, N. C., White Specified Ages, As Groups and by Race

Migrating Between	Rural		White Rural		Negro Rural	
	No.	Per cent	No.	Per cent	No.	Per cent
15 and 19	185	28.5	95	23.6	90	36.4
15 and 24	390	60.0	228	56.6	162	65.6
15 and 29	515	79.2	313	77.7	202	81.8
at 30-	135	20.8	90	22.3	45	18.2
	Urban		White Urban		Negro Urban	
15 and 19	12	12.8	6	9.7	6	18.8
15 and 24	31	33.0	20	32.3	11	34.4
15 and 29	70	74.5	46	74.2	24	75.0
at 30-	24	25.5	16	25.8	8	25.0

with the racial dichotomy. Differences emerging from this analysis were striking, but the small number of urban cases bids us to be cautious in interpretation. The number of rural cases migrating in the 15-19 bracket (28.5 per cent of the rural total) composed a proportion more than twice as great as the number of such cases in the urban total (12.8 per cent). Sixty

per cent of the rural cases had migrated by 24 years of age; the equivalent urban percentage was 33.0. Migration took place in the twenties to a greater extent among migrants of urban origin than among the rural cases. These percentages were 61.7, and 50.7 respectively. Urban cases moving at 30 years of age or more composed slightly more than a quarter (25.5 per cent) of the migrants in that classification.

Interracial differences by this mode of organizing our materials were also emphatic. In the youngest age group, for example, white rural and urban components were 23.6 and 9.7 per cent respectively; corresponding Negro groups made up 36.4 and 18.8 per cent of colored rural and urban totals. The very great extent to which those of urban origin migrate in the later twenties is evident in the fact that 41.9 per cent and 40.6 per cent of white and Negro urban totals respectively moved to Durham between 25 and 29 years of age. The equivalent rural figures for this bracket were 21.1 and 16.2 per cent for white and colored cases. Thirty-three per cent of the white rural migrants moved between 20 and 24 years whereas the urban component which corresponds constituted 22.6 per cent. The Negro rural number in this bracket composed 29.2 per cent of colored rural cases in contrast to the equivalent urban proportion of 15.6 per cent. The greater youthfulness of rural migrants at time of migration has been demonstrated by means of this percentage analysis, and the general tendency of Negro

women of both rural and urban origin to migrate earlier than white women in each class has also been exhibited.

An analysis of age at migration was also made according to occupational categories. The calculation of average ages at migration showed that among the white migrants women in the professional group tended to come at later ages than those in other classes. The mean age of 40 professional workers was 30.00 years. The 105 domestic workers had the second highest average migration age (27.07), but this is deceptive since a larger proportion of white domestics migrated between 15 and 19 (25.7 per cent) than did women in any other occupational group. However, a practically identical component of this occupational class moved to the city at 30 years of age or more (25.6 per cent). This last figure, incidentally, was exceeded only by the professional women's component in this age range (40.0 per cent). It is evident that age at migration varied considerably among migrants in the domestic group. Average ages at migration for the manufacturing and trade categories were almost identical: 25.78 and 25.79 years respectively. The clerical workers migrated at the lowest mean age (24.87 years) among the white occupational groups.

Negro professional women migrated at a later average age than workers in the other colored occupational groups. The mean age for professional cases was 26.69 years. Average ages at migration of 24.03 and 24.74 years were found for colored

Table 32

Mean Age at Migration With Standard Deviation and Standard Error of Mean for 465 White Female Migrants, By Occupational Group

Group	Cases	m	SD	SE_m
Manufacturing[a]	218	25.78	7.41	∓.50
Trade	41	25.79	7.38	∓1.15
Professional	40	30.00	7.12	∓1.13
Domestic	105	27.07	10.10	∓.99
Clerical	61	24.87	5.84	∓.75

[a]Includes three cases in transportation and communication group.

manufacturing and domestic workers respectively. All Negro average ages at migration were younger than those for corresponding white occupation groups.

Table 33

Mean Age at Migration With Standard Deviation and Standard Error of Mean for 279 Negro Female Migrants, by Occupational Group

Group	Cases	m	SD	SE_m
Manufacturing	121	24.03	7.76	∓.71
Professional	31	26.69	6.97	∓1.25
Domestic[a]	127	24.74	7.34	∓.65

[a]Includes six cases reported as "inexperienced."

A percentage analysis similar to that carried out above was made of these age data by occupational classification. We find that the proportions in the 15-19 range for domestic workers in both racial groups were large. Among Negro domestics 33.1 per cent moved within this period; the equivalent white component was 25.7 per cent. However, the largest Negro group in the youngest age bracket was found for colored women employed in manufacturing, 38.8 per cent of this group having moved to the city between 15 and 19 years of age. Proportionately more women among white professional and domestic cases migrated at or over 30 years of age than among other white groups. The largest proportion of colored cases which migrated during the later years of life was the professional women's 25.8 per cent.

Table 34

Cumulative Number and Percentage of 465 White and 279 Negro Female Migrants Moving to Durham, N. C., Within Specified Ages, by Occupation Group

Migrating Between	Manufacturing No.	Manufacturing Per c.	Professional No.	Professional Per c.	Domestic No.	Domestic Per c.	Trade No.	Trade Per c.	Clerical No.	Clerical Per c.
White										
15 & 19	49	22.5	6	20.0	27	25.7	8	19.5	11	18.0
15 & 24	118	54.1	10	25.0	62	59.0	22	53.7	36	59.0
15 & 29	171	78.4	24	60.0	78	74.3	34	82.9	52	85.2
at 30+	47	21.6	16	40.0	27	25.6	7	17.1	9	14.8
Negro										
15 & 19	47	38.8	7	22.6	42	33.1				
15 & 24	86	71.1	11	35.5	76	59.8				
15 & 29	101	83.5	23	74.2	102	80.3				
at 30+	20	16.5	8	25.8	25	19.7				

Our analyses of the data pertaining to age at time of migration indicate that movement to Durham among our cases has taken place predominantly in the younger years of life. More than three-quarters (78.6 per cent) of the women for whom we obtained information migrated when less than 30 years of age. If our data were representative in any appreciable degree of the general situation concerning age at migration, we would expect to find a large proportion of Durham's employed women to be in the younger age brackets. We find, in fact, that according to Census data 39.0 per cent of all gainfully employed women in Durham in 1930 were 24 years old or less, that is, down to 10 years, the lower limit of the tables containing this information. The number of all employed women 34 years of age or less constituted 69.9 per cent of the total. This situation existed in the other North Carolina manufacturing cities. Substantially smaller percentages were evident by this mode of age division for Asheville, Raleigh and Wilmington, as the following table shows.

Marital Status at Time of Migration

From among the total number of migrant women we were able to secure information concerning marital status at time of migration for 394 cases, 51.4 per cent of the total. Of these cases 238 were white migrants (approximately 50.0 per cent of the white total) and 156 were colored cases (53.8 per cent of

Table 35[22]

Percentages of Gainfully Employed Women Under 25 and Under 35 Years of Age, Eight North Carolina Cities, 1930

Per cent of Employed Women	Asheville	Charlotte	Durham	Greensboro
24 and under	33.0	38.6	39.0	39.3
34 and under	63.7	70.8	69.9	70.3
	High Point	Raleigh	Wilmington	Winston-Salem
24 and under	47.4	31.3	28.8	40.9
34 and under	76.8	61.0	56.8	73.1

Table 36

Number and Per cent of 394 Female Migrants of Specified Marital Statuses Moving to Durham, N. C., As a Group and By Race

Marital Status	Total		White		Negro	
	No.	Per cent	No.	Per cent	No.	Per cent
Married	117	29.7	71	29.8	46	29.5
Single	167	42.4	106	44.6	61	39.1
All other[a]	110	27.9	61	25.6	49	31.4
Totals	394	100.0	238	100.0	156	100.0

[a]Includes widowed, divorced, separated and deserted women.

the Negro total). In the following table the available data are presented according to a threefold division of marital statuses.

[22]For a more detailed account of the number and per cent of gainfully employed women in age brackets for these cities, see Appendix III, p. 136.

It is evident that migration among this group of women has taken place for the most part when they were single. This tendency was slightly more pronounced among the white cases (44.6 per cent single) than among colored cases (39.1 per cent single). Married women and those classified in the "all other" category moved to the city in roughly equivalent proportions.

Perhaps the most interesting fact resulting from the abstraction of these data is the large percentage of the cases which fell into the "all other" grouping. This category made up more than a quarter (27.9 per cent) of the cases included in the tabulation. This fact seems interesting for at least two reasons. It indicates that our migrant population has been involved in broken homes and marital relations to a much greater extent than the female population of Durham as a whole. Since it is precisely among such women that we would expect to find a higher incidence of economic need, and therefore relatively heavier registration proportionate to numbers with an employment office, these antecedent processes of disorganization were probably the central factors making for the presence of this large proportion of widowed, divorced and deserted women in the total migrant group. The large percentage of women in the "all other" category is interesting, secondly, since it points to the phenomena associated with desertion or widowhood

as factors conducing to migration.[23] The chances for a lone woman to cope with her environment economically seem to be much better in a larger city than they are in a rural area of small village.

These data were also organized according to occupational groups, but the small numbers of cases in the various groups did not warrant tabulation here. One fact may be noted, however, concerning this analysis. Domestic workers in each race had very large proportions of their ranks falling into the "all other" category. Among Negro domestics this component was 36.5 per cent (23 of 63 cases), the largest such proportion among the three colored occupational classes. The equivalent white figure was 32.4 per cent (23 of 71 cases). This was exceeded only by the 33.3 per cent of the white trade category (8 of 24 cases). In view of the small number of cases in the latter group it seemed difficult and inappropriate to assign any special significance to this high percentage. The high domestic percentages suggest that women seeking employment consequent to divorce, widowhood or the like, turn to the sorts of tasks for which they are generally equipped without any special training or vocational experience. Although again the number of cases was very small, it may also be noted that the smallest proportions in the "all other" category were made up

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[23]The number of divorced women was small. The "all other" category was made up of the following sorts of cases: 12 divorced, 20 widowed and 29 deserted or separated women in the white group. There were three divorced women, 18 widows and 28 deserted or separated women in the Negro group.

of the professional women in each racial group.

Educational Status

Information concerning formal education appears in Employment Service records in the form of the highest level completed by the applicant. It seemed not inappropriate to include these data in the present inquiry. This information

Table 37[24]

Number and Per cent of 739 Female Migrants of Specified Educational Status, As a Group and by Race

Education Completed	Total		White		Negro	
	No.	Per cent	No.	Per cent	No.	Per cent
None	43	5.8	24	5.2	19	6.9
4 Grades or less	142	19.2	73	15.8	69	24.9
5 Grades or more	292	39.6	167	36.1	125	45.1
Some High School	99	13.4	70	15.2	29	10.5
High School Graduate	88	11.9	73	15.8	15	5.4
Some College	51	6.9	38	8.2	13	4.7
College Graduate	24	3.2	17	3.7	7	2.5
Totals	739	100.0	462	100.0	277	100.0

was accordingly organized by seven classes for the entire group and by race. Data were not available for 15 white and 13 Negro

[24]It should be noted that in a few of these cases formal education may not have been completed prior to migration. This is probably true of some of those who moved before 20 years of age. Such cases are included in the tabulation.

women. Hence educational information pertaining to 739 cases (96.3 per cent of the total) appears in the following table, and of this number 462 are white and 277 are Negro female migrants. These cases compose 96.9 and 95.5 per cent of total white and Negro groups respectively.

It is apparent from this summarization of data that on the whole this female migrant group possessed rather variant increments of formal educational experience. The lowest three categories--included no high school work at all--constituted 64.6 per cent of the group. However, slightly more than a tenth of the group (10.1 per cent) reached college. Interracial differences were the sort to have been anticipated. Thus while 31.8 per cent of the Negro cases completed four grades or less, the corresponding group constituted 21.0 per cent of the white cases. More than three-quarters (76.9 per cent) of the colored migrants did not have any high school experience. The equivalent white figure was 57.1 per cent. At the other end of the scale 11.9 per cent of the white women had completed some college work, but only 7.2 per cent of the Negro women were subsumed under the last two categories. In a cursory analysis of this type we are unable to attend to interracial qualitative disparities in educational opportunities and facilities. The contrasting percentages in the table above may therefore not be reflective of "true gaps" between the educational experience of white and Negro women.

Table 38

Number and Per cent of 462 White and 277 Negro Female Migrants of Specified Educational Status, by Occupational Group

White

Education Completed	Manufacturing		Professional[a]		Clerical		Domestic		Trade	
	No.	Per.	No.	Per.	No.	Per.	No.	Per.	No.	Per.
None	18	8.1	0	--	0	--	6	5.9	0	--
4 Grades or less	51	23.1	0	--	0	--	22	21.8	0	--
5 Grades or more	119	53.9	0	--	3	5.1	41	40.6	4	9.7
Some High School	27	12.2	1	2.5	13	22.0	18	17.8	11	26.8
High School Grad.	6	2.7	1	2.5	33	55.9	13	12.9	20	48.8
Some College	0	--	23	57.5	10	17.0	1	1.0	4	9.7
College Graduate	0	--	15	37.5	0	--	0	--	2	4.9
Totals	221	100.0	40	100.0	59	100.0	101	100.0	41	99.9

Negro

Education Completed	Manufacturing		Professional		Domestic[b]	
	No.	Per cent	No.	Per cent	No.	Per cent
None	12	9.9	0	--	7	5.3
4 Grades or less	41	33.9	0	--	28	21.4
5 Grades or more	60	49.6	0	--	65	49.6
Some High School	8	6.6	1	4.0	20	15.3
High School Grad.	0	--	9	36.0	6	4.6
Some College	0	--	8	32.0	5	3.8
College Graduate	0	--	7	28.0	0	--
Totals	121	100.0	25	100.0	131	100.0

[a]Includes three cases in transportation and communication

[b]Includes six cases reported "inexperienced."

An analysis employing the same seven educational categories was carried out for the racial groups occupationally classified. Table 38 summarizes this information. Precisely the sorts of

educational differentials among occupational groups which would have been anticipated emerged from this organization of data. Only the relative proportions of cases in the lower categories among manufacturing and domestic workers seemed not to concur with the empiric notion of this situation. Domestic workers in each race in this group of women seem to have had more formal education than the workers subsumed under the manufacturing classification. Among the white cases the number in the lowest two educational categories made up 31.2 per cent of the manufacturing workers but only 27.7 per cent of the domestic workers. Cases inclusive of those reaching or graduating from high school constituted 30.7 per cent of white domestic workers and only 14.9 per cent of the manufacturing group. Similarly, among the Negro cases, the number of manufacturing workers in the two lowest educational groups made up 43.8 per cent of that occupational group. The corresponding component among colored domestic workers was substantially smaller--26.7 per cent. Among Negro women in the domestic group 19.9 per cent had reached or graduated from high school, but the equivalent percentage among manufacturing workers was 6.6.

Summary comment concerning other interoccupational educational differences was withheld since our findings were generally congruent with what might have been anticipated.

Potential Mobility. Occupational and Interoccupational Mobility Among Domestic Migrant Women

Among the questions for which answers are sought from Employment Service applicants is one which asks, in effect, Are you willing to leave Durham to take a job in another place and to live there? A large number of the migrant women for whom we have taken off various data answered this question affirmatively. This information seemed to furnish a convenient coordinating definition of, and a method for the measurement of, potential mobility. Inasmuch as no explicitly negative answers were recorded,[25] the absences of answers were construed as negative responses. The propriety of employing these affirmative answers as indicators of potential mobility may be questioned. Presumably such a question would take the form, How do you know these persons are <u>really</u> potentially more mobile than those not making any reply, even granting the propriety of interpreting lack of answer as negative reply? Although the question was recognized, it did not seem wise to join metaphysical issues in the present investigation.

Fully 463 cases of the total migrant group (60.4 per cent) were potentially mobile in terms of affirmative answers to the stipulated question. Of this number 259 were white and 204 were Negro cases. These numbers constituted 54.3 per cent of white

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[25] There was a handful of exceptions consisting principally in women with physically handicapped husbands and lone women with several children (requiring continued residence with Durham relatives) who explicitly said they were unable to leave the city.

cases and 70.3 per cent of colored cases. On our interpretation Negro migrants are potentially more mobile than white migrants.

These data, racially discriminated, were classified by occupational groups. The following table shows the number and per cent of potentially mobile cases in each occupational category. According to this analysis domestic workers in each

Table 39

Number and Per cent of Potentially Mobile Persons of 477 White and 290 Negro Female Migrants, by Occupational Group

Occupational Group	Total Cases	Potentially Mobile No.	Potentially Mobile Per cent
White			
Manufacturing	223[a]	88	39.5
Professional	40	27	67.5
Clerical	61	27	44.3
Domestic	112	96	85.7
Trade	41	21	51.2
Totals	477	259	54.3
Negro			
Manufacturing	125	88	70.4
Professional	31	12	38.7
Domestic	134[b]	104	81.3

[a]Includes three cases in transportation and communication group.

[b]Includes six inexperienced cases.

race were characterized by greater potential mobility than any other occupational groups. White and Negro percentages of

potentially mobile persons in this occupational class were 85.7 and 81.3 respectively. The second largest such component among the white migrants was the 67.5 per cent observed for professional women (27 of 40 cases). The equivalent professional Negro group made up only 38.7 per cent of that total group of cases (12 of 31 cases). The second most potentially mobile Negro occupational group was the manufacturing workers among whom 70.4 per cent had affirmative answers recorded. White manufacturing workers answering thus constituted only 39.5 per cent of that occupational group.

The observation of the high percentages of potential mobility among domestic workers led to a modest endeavor to gauge the actual extent of occupational and interoccupational mobility in these groups. For this purpose the following information was compiled for the first 40 Negro and 30 white domestic workers among our cases migrating at less than 30 years of age: the number and duration of all jobs held since 1930 and the occupational categories into which these jobs fell if other than the domestic. The age restriction was employed in order not to give an exaggerated picture. We would naturally expect older persons to have held more jubs during their employment histories. The temporal limitation was used in order that a fuller measure of accuracy concerning the durations of employments might be secured. This was on the common sense assumption that data pertaining to more recent jobs would be more accurately

reported than would the details of jobs held a decade or more ago. It may also be added that all employments and durations were used for this purpose, regardless of whether information for particular cases had the completeness requisite for inclusion in Table 27 above.

For the first 40 Negro domestic cases it was found that 112 jobs were held within the limited period, an average of 2.8 jobs per person. The first 30 white domestic cases held 53 jobs in the same period, thus averaging 1.8 jobs per person. Among the colored cases 23 held domestic jobs alone, while 11 held at least one job falling into another occupational category (ranging all the way from tobacco stemming to school teaching), and six were employed in jobs in two other classifications. Of the 30 white cases 14 were employed solely as domestic workers at their various jobs, while 13 were employed at least once at tasks subsumed under one other label, and three held jobs in two other occupational categories.

In the temporal perspective of these employments, the Negro domestics held many more jobs of shorter duration than did the white domestic workers. The 112 and 53 employments held in the restricted time period by these colored and white cases respectively are tabulated in the following according to a five-fold temporal division. While the number of jobs held for less than six months constituted 43.8 per cent of the Negro employments, the corresponding white jobs composed but 28.3 per cent.

Table 40

Number and Per cent of 165 Jobs of Specified Duration Held by 70 Female Migrant Domestic Workers, by Race

Duration of Job	White (30 cases)		Negro (40 cases)	
	No.	Per cent	No.	Per cent
Less than 3 months	8	15.1	29	25.9
Less than 6 months	7	13.2	20	17.9
Less than 1 year	14	26.4	25	22.3
Between 1 and 2 years	8	15.1	13	11.6
More than 2 years	16	30.2	25	22.3
Totals	53	100.0	112	100.0

With respect to employment lasting two years or more, Negro jobs were 22.3 per cent of the colored total in contrast to the white proportion of 30.2 per cent. All employment of more than a year's duration made up 33.9 per cent of the colored jobs in this series; the equivalent white percentage was 45.3. The facts emerging from this analysis support the notion that potential mobility is greater among the Negro women of our migrant group. As far as the domestic workers are concerned, at any rate, Negro women have held more jobs of shorter duration over a given period of time than have white women. We would expect the colored cases to be more mobile in the future as well. Aside from this, the general occupational mobility of the domestic workers seems to have been exhibited in the large percentages of jobs held for durations of less than six months: Negro cases 43.8 per cent, white cases 28.3 per cent.

Although the number of cases was quite small, it may also be pointed out that while Negro women in the domestic group displayed more occupational mobility, the white cases seem to have crossed occupational boundaries more. Sixteen of the 30 white domestic workers were employed one or more times at tasks of an occupational character other than the domestic. This was true of only 17 of the 40 colored cases. The hypothesis, that occupational mobility in terms of sheer turnover tends to be greater among Negro women while interoccupational mobility tends to be more characteristic of white women, might well guide a more extensive study of these phenomena in connection with migration.

Chapter III

SOME SUBJECTIVE ASPECTS OF MIGRATION

Personal Knowledge

In preceding portions of this study we have attended to young female surplus populations and the cityward migration of a group of women in mensurable aspect. In considering our data in the large particular persons with their goals and schemes of life have been lost, so to speak. When we analyze a group of persons as a collectivity by means of arithmetic or statistical procedures we cannot, in the very nature of the case, take cognizance of the person qua person. Our predications have accordingly been group-predications.

In this phase of the inquiry, however, in which we report findings pertaining to the second set of questions regulative of the study, we turn from impersonal to personal or, to use Cooley's term, dramatic knowledge. Our mode of gathering this personal information may be described as "the sympathetic

Chapter III

Personal Narrative

introspection" of other minds, the use of which Cooley urged.[1]

The questions set forth to guide the study of the subjective aspects of migration required the acquisition of relatively intimate, personal data pertaining to the process of migration from women who had moved to Durham. As originally conceived, this information was to have been secured through the life histories of two migrant women--one white and one Negro. This did not prove to be feasible.

A second procedure--the one mentioned above--was adopted, and the results of this approach are reported in following sections. Since the waitress fills a rather distinctly urban economic niche, and is highly accessible to male acquaintance, casual and otherwise, attention was directed to this group to secure personal knowledge of the migration process.

Over a period of approximately eight months the investigator dined three or four times a week in two of the smaller downtown restaurants. These periods of patronage were mutually exclusive. Relatively persistent patronage rewarded the writer with the role of "a regular." It was in this position that it was possible to become acquainted with the four

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[1]See C. H. Cooley, "The Roots of Social Knowledge," Sociological Theory and Social Research. (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1930).

waitresses[2] (all migrants) whose rationales for cityward movement and whose adjustments to the urban milieu we seek to describe hereinafter.

Any ambiguity engendered by the term "acquaintance" ought to be resolved. Three of these women were young enough so that the writer was able to "date" them. This principally took the form of attending motion pictures. The fourth, an older woman, once widowed and once divorced, "waitress philosopher" and counselor to female employees of one establishment, proved to be a valuable source of information, although acquaintance in this instance was confined to more conventional waitress-patron relations.

The problem of becoming acquainted was not difficult because, as Donovan has pointed out, the relation between waitress and patron is distinctly a personal one. "Eating in a restaurant is not exactly a sacrament, but under any sort of human conditions, it is something of a ceremony, a ceremony in which the waitress plays an important role." Donovan's further observation, that this intimacy tends to be greater with male patrons, was confirmed by our experiences.[3] Although casual

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[2]The acquaintance of more than a dozen waitresses was made. Some were not migrants. Others were not accessible for contact except through the role of patron. Others, though met and observed out of the occupational milieu, were too reticent to be useful within pragmatic temporal and financial limitations.

[3]Frances Donovan, The Woman Who Waits. (Boston: Richard G. Badger, 1920), pp. 63-64, 68, 71-72.

acquaintance took place within a week, a period of from three to five weeks elapsed with respect to each of these subjects before they seemed to speak freely of their backgrounds, their reasons for having moved to the city, and their appraisals of the urban world through personal reference.

Descriptions of these four migrant women are germane to our purpose, and this will be done in the order in which their acquaintance was made. We will call them Elaine, Wilma, Idell, and Daisy, not merely because these were not their names, but also because they might well have been.

Elaine appeared to be 19 or 20 years old at the time of the study although she claimed to be five years older. She was born on a farm in a county about fifty miles south of Durham. According to her account, her family were farm owners. Elaine said she was a high school graduate, evidence of which was not abundant. She had come to Durham some eight months before, after working as a waitress for a few months in a small town in her home county. She was a rather mentally alert and physically attractive person.

Wilma was about 25 years old at the time her acquaintance was made. She had been in Durham about two years, having come from Richmond where she also had worked as a waitress. Wilma said she was originally from South Carolina, but other than the fact that she was born on a farm details were not forthcoming. She had gone to high school "some," but her evaluation of the formal educational process was a low one. Wilma

was thin and short, she had dark hair but was quite pale. She was neither as attractive nor as alert as Elaine, with whom she worked.

Idell was "more than thirty," in her phrase. This--her second Durham residence--had lasted about one year. She was relatively reticent concerning her family and general background. She was born in a small town in a North Carolina county east of Durham. She evidently had not had much formal schooling, and was wont to boast she had acquired her knowledge of men and affairs by herself. By virtue of her two statuses of widow and divorcee, she felt that her brand of wisdom had a singularly enhanced value. Idell was rather stout and her face was still pretty.

Daisy was probably around 17 or 18 years old at the time her acquaintance was made. She vaguely claimed to be more than twenty. Daisy came to Durham directly from the farm on which she was born in an adjoining county. The investigator had the good fortune to meet her during the first week she was employed in the city. She was very reticent concerning her background, her schooling, and the economic status of her family, although outspoken on other topics. Although attractively proportioned, Daisy was plagued with a skin difficulty, frequently her sole concern and the only topic with which she could be cajoled into conversation.

These brief sketches are included in order to render more

intelligible materials presented below. They are obviously not the accounts of personal backgrounds which the psychiatrist or writer of life histories requires. We are concerned with these persons solely as their rationales of cityward movement and their adjustments to the urban world seem to be reflective of the subjective aspects of migration and urbanization. The brief comments concerning physical attractiveness are relevant because of the importance of this fact in the socio-economic biosphere of the waitress.

A brief word concerning the mechanics of procedure is in order. Principal material tools were small pocket notebook and pencil. During supper or late evening coffee it was sometimes possible to record verbalizations and overt behavior directly upon observation. More frequently the protocols had to be composed after periods of contact. This was true of course of all dating ventures. The practice was followed of writing protocols the same evening the behavior was observed. The actual writing was begun from ten minutes to an hour after having left the subject's presence. All protocols of verbal behavior are in the writer's language, and while they are not <u>exactly</u> what various subjects said, it is claimed that they are accurate versions of what occurred. All verbal reconstructions are based on actual behavior.[4] The writer's pur-

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[4]These are presented in quotes or in single-spaced passages below. The investigator's inferences are not in this form.

pose and identity were not revealed. The economic role assumed was that of printer, but factors dictating this choice need not be reviewed here.

In attending thus to what we call the subjective aspect of migration we have brought in the assumption that a social act has both an objective and a subjective phase. Such indeed was the assumption. Part of the significance of any unit of behavior for the sociologist lies "inside the skin" of the actor. On this view, a spatio-temporal account of migration is by itself incomplete. It is also assumed in this part of the investigation that through sheer social participation and taking the role of the other person we may secure valid data. The soundness of these assumptions may be debated. It must be stressed, however, that in attending to the subjective phase of migration we are not impugning its external aspects in a search for recondite mental essences. The very language which we report may itself be thought a way of behaving similarly which regularly presents us with repetitions. Adams has said: "we may with perfect propriety consider language as simply a peculiarly exact and fluid way of behaving similarly. We are frequently confronted by its inadequacies, but by comparison with any other mode of behavior, it is capable of the most exquisite exactitude of duplication."[5]

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[5]D. K. Adams, "The Inference of Mind," Psychological Review, XXXV (1928), p. 237. Italics in original.

ble of the most essential ingredient of duplication."

. Warren, "The Purpose of Law." Unpublished (1949), p. 88. Italics in original.

With this approach, moreover, the investigator was something more than interviewer. Actual participation in situations of which some of these verbalizations were part lent a dual efficacy to the procedure. In addition to the person's comments with respect to migration and the urban milieu, certain inconsonances between overt and verbal behavior were observable.

Reasons for Migration

Possible personal motivations for cityward migration were not attended to in the spatio-temporal analyses of migration to Durham. The push and pull of demographic and economic forces were cited in those contexts as influencing movement to urban centers. Forces of "personal push and pull" are considered here.

Elaine's reaction to an impersonally-phrased, leading question concerning the reasons for migration was one of surprise. It had not occurred to her that this was a topic for discussion. Cityward migration simply inhered in the nature of things, and she explicitly related it to differences in living standards. "They've always been coming to cities. Nothing strange about that. They make out better. They get more out of living in the city. Why shouldn't they come? You'd do the same thing. It's always been that way."

Wilma's view, evoked by the same leading question, was

similar: "Well, sure they come to cities! You can make more money working in the city and you don't have to work half as hard. You can't have any fun out there anyway. There's no one around. It's the money that's really important, though."

In an impersonal form the question failed to draw Daisy out. She, too, seemed to regard movement from farms as part of the order of nature. There was no point in discussing the obvious. Idell was the most interested. Her view was thoroughly materialistic and involved persistent use of her favorite phrase, "the better things in life." The following is a brief version of her notion:

> Why do they come? That's easy! They want the better things in life. You only get them when you can work in the city. They're the things that take real money. I can see the difference right here in Durham. I can spot country folks right off. They don't have the better things.

The "better things" seemed to consist principally in the more fashionable clothing, the more modern and comfortable housing, and the more powerful and costly motor cars which Idell associated with urban life. When it was pointed out that many city dwellers were slum residents, she was not impressed. She said: "They're all that way in the sticks. Say, I ought to know, I've been around."[6] From time to time similar derogatory remarks were made by all four waitresses.

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[6]Referring to the fact that she had worked in several large cities (Richmond, Washington, Baltimore) in the past.

When the "why" of cityward migration was formulated in personal reference, responses were more varied. The key motif seems to have been a mixture of desire for freedom from familial and communal primary restraints and desire for the excitement and sheer social stimulation of the city.

Elaine's views were typical of those elicited from all four subjects:

> I was always told what to do and how to do it. Somebody was always nagging. I'd get up early and work all week and then I'd have to get up early Sunday, too, to prepare for church. You can't sleep late like you can here. I had to go. People talk if you don't. My family made me go, but I always hated it.

Wilma framed a similar thought succinctly when she said: "You're never on your own on the farm. There's something got to be done all the time." She connected this pervasive constraint to the desire for freedom: "It's only natural for a kid to want to light out and be on her own."

Daisy was most emphatic in indicating the role of constraint. This revolved about a father depicted as familial tyrant. We have no way of telling how much her account gained in color through delight in the telling, but her hatred was frequently made articulate: "I wouldn't want to go back for anything. My old man would just be running me like always." This applied to the entire family: "He was the boss. I guess we were all scared of him. No one talked back." Her brief taste of freedom definitely committed her to remaining, not so much in the city, perhaps, as away from her family. Thus,

after one month: "In a way I'm my own boss-man, and I want to keep on being my own boss-man, too."

Idell delineated the constraint situation in somewhat broader perspective, making a universal in human nature of the desire to get beyond family and community controls. "Everybody has got a few oats to sow. It's human nature." Generalized in terms of her own experience: "I've seen them come and go referring to persons who had migrated to cities , and most of them talk about the same things--money and being on their own with it." Idell made it clear that not her "better things" alone were important, but these conjoined with freedom for use as the person saw fit. The individualistic credo of the waitress is explicit here.

On the positive side, Donovan's statement of the city's lure seems as accurate as any:

> Why do they come? Because life is dull in the small town or on the farm and because there is excitement and adventure, in the city. The lure of the stage, of the movie, of the shop, and of the office make of it the definite El Dorado of the woman.[7]

All four migrant waitresses offered analogous comments from time to time. In each case the motion picture, newspaper, and magazine seem to have been active auxiliary factors conducing to migration. These media advertise the city's wares, Daisy's comment while window-shopping after a motion picture

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[7] Op. cit., p. 9.

> Why do they cower because life is dull in the small town or on the farm and become [illegible] and adventure, in the "B". Like "Man of the Hour", of the movie, of the show, and of the idyllic at the definite ill [illegible] or the wagon.'

date was typical of several recorded by the investigator: "I used to see things like this brightly-lit shop windows and new frocks, etc. in shows and magazines, but I never knew if I'd really see them." She trailed off to a wistful note used with increasing infrequency in the course of four months: "Where I come from people don't see these things, really, and they don't wear clothes like this either."

Idell also linked "the better things" with these media, particularly the cinema. According to her, it was precisely in the "shows" that you saw the things she had in mind. Her favorite method of driving this home was to point to the many motion pictures dealing with city life and the practical absence of films portraying farm or country people. Hence although "country folk never have them," that is, the good things, "they can look at them and the folks that do have them. And a lot of good that does," she added cynically.

Elaine delineated the city's attraction in terms of available recreational facilities, with emphasis on "shows" and the fact that "something was always going on." She contrasted the lonesomeness of farm life with the congeniality of the city as she knew it through the recreational institutions which enabled her to see many people with a relatively great degree of frequency:

> There's not much to do in the country and no one much to do it with anyway. Here it's different. There's something going on all the time. I can go to a show or go riding and dancing any night in the week. Those kids out there don't have anything to do. Half of them are dying for lonesomeness, I bet. There's plenty of places to go in town, though.

Wilma's comments linked the newspaper and cinema to diffusion of awareness of the attractions of urban life. "Exciting things were always happening in the city. It seemed that way from the papers." The accounts of events of city life elicited a desire for participation: "I'd read about dances and parties and socials in the paper. We hardly had any. Even the churches in town had dances and socials. Just reading about them made me want to do those things." Advertisements of retail shops and department stores functioned in a similar way in Wilma's case. "I'd read about sales of dresses and shoes and things and I used to imagine going into the stores and trying things on. Sometimes we used to act it out." The cinematic portrayal of urban life had a similar effect. "After going to shows I used to think how nice it would be to live that way, and to have lots of clothes."

The stimulating effect of the bustle of the town was observed by the investigator on one occasion during two hours passed in sauntering along Main Street looking into shop windows with Daisy. It was in her second week of employment in Durham. The sheer numbers of persons and cars going by, and the many illuminated windows and signs, were apparently enjoyed for their own sake. They were in addition, of course, the solid symbols of a new mode of life. The enjoyment of the swiftness of change in, and the very multiplicity of, sensory stimuli seemed almost biological in character.

Urbanization

Transition from rural to urban habitat and concomitant changes in mode of gaining a living and in conduct generally are sometimes delineated in sociological literature as highly disorganizing processes. Carpenter has formulated an hypothesis to this effect embodied in the concept "culture-shock."[8] So far as these four migrant waitresses are concerned little was observed to lend support to such an hypothesis.[9] To some extent each of these persons was urbanized prior to migration through the various media noted above. These served not only to help create desire for movement and change, but they also seem to have made familiar--albeit in distorted fashion--some phases of the urban web of expectation.

If release from primary family and rural neighborhood controls per se is deemed disorganizing, there is no issue. Within the present economic system most migration is individual and mobility usually takes the person out of established family and/or community relations.[10] However, all four

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[8]N. Carpenter, The Sociology of City Life. (New York: Longmans, Green, 1931), pp. 217-218, 272-274, 316-318, 334-338, 441-442.

[9]An analysis of the histories of 30 disorganized families in Durham, however, seemed to support Carpenter's view. Although originally planned as part of this inquiry, the data pertaining to these families are reported separately.

[10]See W. S. Thompson, Research Memorandum on Internal Migration in the Depression, p. 5; R. D. McKenzie, The Metropolitan Community, p. 316; I. Ferenczi, "Migrations," Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences, X, p. 429.

migrants studied in this phase of the inquiry seemed to have integrated, if individuated, life schemes. For one thing, they were thoroughly realistic in the sense that their goals and available means were proximate in terms of the wider milieu. Granted their values--which in each case seemed to include a high degree of individualism and freedom from familial constraint--it seems difficult to describe them as demoralized personalities or as victims of culture-shock. From available material it seems their transition to the urban way of life was achieved rapidly and smoothly. And despite the cultivated "sex appeal" with which environing unattached males are exploited, the waitress--in Durham, at all events--adheres to a moral code. It is the code of her urban home, the restaurant, and the word "home" is used in more than a figurative intension.

The waitress who has migrated to Durham alone usually rooms with a fellow-worker in proximity to place of employment. She tends to change place of residence frequently, sometimes staying at one place for a month or six weeks. Usually she eats three times each day at the scene of her work. Her home, to the extent that she has one, is where she eats, not where she sleeps.[11] She establishes whatever intimate relations she enjoys in the restaurant milieu. Here she re-

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[11]Obviously this does not apply to women living with their families or with relatives in the city.

ceives her phone calls and makes her dates. So much does it tend to become home that during nonworking hours or after a date the waitress frequents her place of employment, chatting with friends on duty or with her boss.

Within the frame of her daily economic routine, she gossips, exchanges news and confidences, and gives and receives advice. Clothing, men, and cosmetics are perennial topics of conversation. The advents of bargains in wearing apparel or beauty preparations are hailed as major events.

The very recent migrant, exemplified among our cases only by Daisy, is taught the finer discriminations of dating and the various techniques for "getting along" by her co-workers. Idell, functioning as sociological mother where she and Daisy worked, was the center of a constellation of personal friendships rooting in these very elementary patterns of social intercourse which have been noted. It was in this role that her advice was sought and given. Hence, unlike the Chicago waitresses described by Donovan,[12] waitresses in Durham restaurants do not steal tips from one another. In a given establishment they may be said to constitute a loosely-structured occupational-primary group of shifting composition.

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[12] *Op. cit.*

In brief, so far as rural-urban migrants who become waitresses are concerned, the restaurant is the urban institution which seems to function as principal acculturation agency. The highly mobile character of this socio-economic milieu conjoined with the casual nature of their work may be factors which result in rapid urbanization among waitresses. To the extent that impersonal relations and mechanical contacts exist in a city of Durham's size and cultural location, the waitress is plunged into them fully. Furthermore, her occupational milieu tends to be in the most mobile area of the city. Her interpersonal relations within the wider melange of forces conducing to urbanization are maintained with persons who themselves have mobile backgrounds and the style of life connoted by the word urban.

Among the subjects observed, only Daisy was met early enough for observation of urbanization with respect to a specific personality. Since periods of contact were temporally limited the following account must not be considered a complete one. It bluntly sketches a trend and is based principally upon the study of one person.

As temporal sequence, urbanization seems to have three discriminable stages. The first is the period in which the urban environment is experienced somewhat as in anticipated character. The frequency of social intercourse and the variety of stimuli are enjoyed for their own sake. The city seems to have the wonderland character which is the migrant's

conception as shaped by forces already noted. Material symbols of her recent advent are the high-heeled shoes in which she works (experienced waitresses wear flat-heeled shoes) and the excessive and crudely-applied cosmetics. The last-mentioned facts also serve to symbolize freedom from familial control. This stage lasted approximately one month in Daisy's case.

The second phase is materially marked by alterations in dress and appearance during working hours. Practicality becomes the motif. The migrant familiarizes herself with the names of persons in local public life, she knows what is going on in the community politically. Local recreational institutions and what can be had by their patronage are commonplace aspects of her psychological environment. She has visited most, if not all, of the shops and knows price ranges and quality variations by heart. She knows what sorts of dances or roadhouses she prefers. If she is relatively attractive, which was true in Daisy's case, she becomes more selective and calculating about dates. In short, she is thoroughly acquainted with all aspects of the community situation which are of personal relevance to a young woman enjoying a measure of freedom and seeking "a good time." The town is "her town," and she conceives herself as an integral part of the local scene. These characteristics were evident about three months after Daisy's arrival.

The central feature of the third stage seems to be the desire to explore and concuer larger worlds. It is marked by dissatisfaction with current places of residence and employment. These are now labeled "this tank town" and "this greasy spoon," to mention two of many derogatory terms.[13] The migrant looks northward to Richmond and Washington. Jobs are better there: better food, bigger tips, and more "things to do." The glamour with which Durham may have once been invested is spoken of cynically now by the migrant-waitress. She "knows her way around, boy," and she is certain she can do better elsewhere.[14] With the acquisition of this thoroughly mundane outlook the rural-born migrant may be fairly described as urbanized. Such, at any rate, were the changes observed in one available case.

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[13]Comments of this sort were chronic with migrant waitresses who had been in the city for six or eight months. Everyone is expected to grumble.

[14]Waitresses who have drifted into Durham from larger cities to the North frequently talk of going back. Letters from friends are eagerly read since they may provide necessary information for making "a jump." Waitresses leave the city unexpectedly quite often, "sticking up" their employers. Their work is casual and they have no ties of a binding sort to the men for whom they work. Some of them work in three or four restaurants during one year, each job lasting a few months. Donovan writes: "Fully 90 per cent of the waitresses whom I questioned told me they had spent at most only a few months at each job." Op. cit., p. 124. See her discussion of factors in this situation, ibid.

It was noted above that although the migrant-waitress finds a new freedom in the city, she is constrained by the moral code of her restaurant home. It is in this connection that certain inconsonances between what the waitress says about her conduct and her conduct itself were observed. These remarks relate to what Donovan has called "the sex game."[15]

Unlike the waitress in a large metropolitan center, the Durham waitress does not enjoy complete anonymity. A certain circumspection is thereby enjoined and is manifest in the prescripts which the rural-born migrant learns. Thus, in transient sex relations it is probable that the "front" of marriage is assumed and its appurtenances displayed more frequently in Durham than in a city in which relatively complete anonymity exists. This is necessary because, as Wilma said at very first acquaintance: "This looks like a big town but it ain't. It's just an overgrown crossroads, where everybody talks about you."

While the waitress, or any woman placed in a situation of sociological promiscuity in a large city, reveals her sexual accessibility by a cultivated modesty, in Durham this situation is sometimes reversed. Verbalization--supplemented, perhaps, by the suggestion of gesture and posture--frequently

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[15] Op. cit., Chapter XVIII, particularly pp. 213, 218-219; also pp. 221-223.

is used to create a front symbolizing accessibility. With this front the environment of available males may be exploited for entertainment in various forms and for gifts. But that which lures the unattached male may also serve to conceal a personality whose more deeply-rooted sentiments do not sanction sexually promiscuous conduct. There are inconsonances, therefore, between the conception which the waitress seeks to create (chiefly through verbal behavior) concerning her behavioral potentialities and her actual conduct in traffic with the male.

This does not mean that the waitress in Durham (as occupational group) always conforms to the prohibitions deriving from the mores. In fact, her marginalistic position on the rim of the more substantial economic and more respectable social world itself conduces to behavior violating these taboos. As Donovan has said:

> There are...an indefinite number of men in the city who have no desire to marry and yet who desire sex relations and are willing to pay for them. So an adaptation is made which is not by any means an ideal one from the standpoint of the ultimate needs of society, but which is perhaps, in many cases, the best solution that can be worked out under present day conditions.[16]

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[16] Ibid., pp. 222-223.

Chapter IV

CONCLUSIONS AND SOME THOERETICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Recapitulation

Summarization here will be concise since conclusions are scattered throughout the essay. The investigation emerged from observation of young female populations in Durham excess relative to the theoretical population pyramid. Similar age-sex structures were found for other Piedmont cities in North Carolina. Wilmington exhibited differences anticipated for a declining population.

It was indicated that observed excess female populations were resultants of cityward migration, especially rural-urban movement. This was related to certain economic-technological and demographic forces through the concept of mobile-equilibrium as formulated by McKenzie.

Data concerning 767 migrant women were analyzed. A few

conclusions may be repeated: migration to Durham is largely a local affair. More than four-fifth of 767 cases were natives of North Carolina. White migration to Durham is more local in character than Negro migration. It was noted that this may not be true of other cities in the state. Migrants in both races were predominantly of rural origin. Certain differences in migration sources pertaining to occupational classifications were also brought out.

Negro female migrants moved to the city at an earlier average age than white migrants. Women of rural origin in both races moved at earlier mean ages than those of urban birth. Occupational analysis of age at time of migration showed that women in categories exacting more formal educational preparation moved later in life. This was true of both racial groups.

The pattern of movement was dominantly one of direct migration from place of birth to Durham. It tended to take place (i.e. migration) in brief duration.

Certain marital and educational characteristics of the migrant cases were also analyzed. It was noted that, as a group, these persons were potentially mobile to a very great degree. Negro women were potentially more mobile than white. Domestic workers in both races were the most potentially mobile occupational groups. The hypothesis was advanced--based on data for 70 domestic workers--that in the course of movement to Durham white women tend to be more mobile inter-

occupationally while Negro women tend to be more mobile in terms of sheer turnover.

A delineation of the process of urbanization was attempted. Based principally on the study of one migrant waitress, three stages were discriminated. The restaurant in Durham was described as an acculturation agency.

Some Theoretical Considerations

It is proposed here merely to restate certain questions which may be regulative of further research on cityward migration in North Carolina. It would be significant, for example, to carry out a wider investigation--gathering data in all eight cities we have studied--to determine general trends in the shifting about of population. What are the "drawing powers" of the different cities? What interracial differences with respect to migration sources would we find?

Further investigation of a more intensive character concerning the association of late age at migration, greater distance covered, and certain occupational groups would be desirable. Similarly, a more extensive study of interracial occupational and interoccupational mobility in connection with migration would be worth while.

APPENDICES

Appendix I

STANDARD AGE-SEX COMPOSITION

Age Group	Per cent of Total Population
0-4	5.40
5-9	5.09
10-14	4.78
15-19	4.48
20-24	4.17
25-29	3.86
30-34	3.55
35-39	3.24
40-44	2.93
45-49	2.62
50-54	2.31
55-59	2.01
60-64	1.70
65-69	1.38
70-74	1.08
75-79	0.77
80-84	0.46
85-89	0.15
Total	49.98

Appendix II

NUMBER AND PER CENT OF GAINFULLY EMPLOYED WOMEN OVER TEN YEARS OF AGE FOR EIGHT NORTH CAROLINA CITIES, BY OCCUPATIONAL GROUP

	Asheville		Charlotte		Durham	
	No	Per c.	No	Per c.	No	Per c.
Agriculture	4	0.05	7	0.05	12	0.05
Manufacturing	652	8.5	1991	15.2	5089	53.6
Trans. & Commun.	192	2.5	284	2.2	43	0.5
Trade	577	7.5	938	7.2	401	4.2
Public Service[a]	5	0.05	9	0.05	8	0.05
Domestic	4174	54.1	6415	48.9	2484	26.2
Professional	1233	16.0	1293	9.9	786	8.3
Clerical	874	11.3	2169	16.5	671	7.1

	Greensboro		Raleigh		Wilmington	
	No	Per c.	No	Per c.	No	Per c.
Agriculture	11	0.1	4	0.0	136	2.8
Manufacturing	2136	25.8	362	6.3	430	8.8
Trans. & Commun.	145	1.8	124	2.2	65	1.3
Trade	508	6.1	399	7.0	303	6.2
Public Service[a]	7	0.1	13	0.2	1	0.0
Domestic	3167	38.3	794	13.9	540	11.1
Professional	1114	13.5	2940	51.3	2749	56.5
Clerical	1182	14.3	1093	19.1	642	13.2

	Winston-Salem		High Point	
	No	Per c.	No	Per c.
Agriculture	12	0.2	4	0.1
Manufacturing	7518	53.9	3141	54.0
Trans. & Commun.	117	0.8	25	0.4
Trade	589	4.2	216	3.7
Public Service[a]	6	0.1	1	0.0
Domestic	1062	7.6	428	7.3
Professional	3591	25.8	1571	27.0
Clerical	1042	7.4	436	7.5

[a]Not elsewhere classified.

Appendix III

NUMBER AND PER CENT OF GAINFULLY EMPLOYED WOMEN FOR EIGHT NORTH CAROLINA CITIES, BY NINE AGE BRACKETS

	Asheville		Durham	
Age Group	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
10-15	45	0.6	117	1.2
16&17	256	3.3	488	5.1
18&19	528	6.9	811	8.6
20-24	1715	22.2	2290	24.1
25-34	2370	30.7	2933	30.9
35-44	1570	20.4	1595	16.8
45-54	841	10.9	880	9.3
55-64	281	3.6	278	2.9
65+	91	1.4	92	1.1
Totals	7697	100.0	9484	100.0
	Charlotte		Greensboro	
Age Group	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
10-15	183	1.4	160	1.9
16&17	493	3.8	427	5.2
18&19	1043	8.0	660	8.0
20-24	3298	25.4	1997	24.2
25-34	4187	32.2	2565	31.0
35-44	2252	17.3	1412	17.1
45-54	1109	8.5	764	9.2
55-64	330	2.5	195	2.4
65+	103	0.8	82	1.0
Totals	12998	99.9	8262	100.0
	High Point		Raleigh	
Age Group	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
10-15	160	2.7	42	0.7
16&17	400	6.9	169	3.0
18&19	624	10.7	327	5.7
20-24	1578	27.1	1256	21.9
25-34	1709	29.4	1699	29.7
35-44	808	13.9	1116	19.5
45-54	372	6.4	740	12.9
55-64	129	2.2	266	4.6
65+	40	0.7	112	2.0
Totals	5820	100.0	5727	100.0

(Continued on next page)

Appendix III

(Continued)

Age Group	Wilmington		Winston-Salem	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
10-15	39	0.8	178	1.3
16&17	136	2.8	670	4.8
18&19	291	6.0	1278	9.2
20-24	933	19.2	3570	25.6
25-34	1360	28.0	4485	32.2
35-44	1075	22.1	2291	16.4
45-54	675	13.9	1000	7.2
55-64	236	4.8	365	2.6
65+	119	2.4	99	0.7
Totals	4864	100.0	13936	100.0

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THE EXCESS FEMALE POPULATION OF DURHAM, N. C.
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by

Irvin Dunsky